



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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4 April 1990**

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CONTENTS

4 April 1990

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Kaunda at SADCC on Regional Self-Reliance [Lusaka Radio]	1
PATU Ministerial Council Meets in Liberia	1
Agrees on Restructuring [Monrovia Radio ELWA]	1
Secretary Elected, Meeting Ends [Monrovia Radio ELWA]	1

CENTRAL AFRICA

Cameroon

New Opposition Party Applies for Registration [BBC]	2
Bar Association Meets, Urges Multiparty System [AFP]	3
Lawyers on Strike, Protest Colleague's Arrest [BBC]	3
Demonstration To Support President in Douala [PANA]	3
Trial of Former Bar Association Head Postponed [AFP]	4
Biya Support Rally Rejects Multiparty System [Yaounde Radio]	4
Party Militants Hold Support Marches [Yaounde Radio]	5
Justice Minister Issues Warning to Lawyers [AFP]	5
Journalists Warned Not To Join New Party [BBC]	5
Businessman Jailed Three Years for 'Subversion' [AFP]	5

Chad

Military Successes Claimed by Opposition [BBC]	5
------------------------------------------------------	---

EAST AFRICA

Somalia

Interior Minister Receives Soviet Delegation [Mogadishu Radio]	7
----------------------------------------------------------------------	---

Uganda

Court Hears Tape Recording in Coup Plot Trial [PANA]	7
Talks on Economic Cooperation With FRG End [Kampala Radio]	7

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Pietermaritzburg Leaders To Hold Peace Talks [SAPA]	8
Police Put Unrest Toll at 53 [SAPA]	8
Mandela on Government's Natal Plans [SAPA]	8
Mandela, Delegation Tour Edendale Valley [SAPA]	9
'Fierce Fighting' Breaks Out in Edendale [Johannesburg Radio]	9
Mandela, Sisulu Speak in Natal [SAPA]	10
Mandela Says ANC To Assess Political Solutions [Johannesburg Radio]	10
Mandela Port Elizabeth Rally Said Largest Ever [SAPA]	10
Mandela Praises De Klerk's 'Welcome Approach' [SAPA]	10
Mandela at Rally on Dismantling Homelands [SAPA]	11
Tutu Calls For Inquiry on Sebokeng Shootings [SAPA]	11
ANC Spokesman Discusses Talks Postponement [Johannesburg International]	11

De Klerk Warns Use of 'Full Weight' on Violence	[SAPA]	12
AWB Comments on De Klerk Parliament Address	[Johannesburg TV]	12
* Focus on White Backlash to De Klerk Reforms	[THE WEEKLY MAIL 23 Feb-1 Mar]	12
* Rising Militancy of White Workers Noted	[THE WEEKLY MAIL 2-8 Mar]	13
* Move Toward Afrikaner 'Volkstaat' Examined	[Cape Town THE ARGUS 21 Feb]	15
* Teachers Increase Militancy Against DET	[THE WEEKLY MAIL 23 Feb-1 Mar]	16
* Land Redistribution Debate Analyzed	[WORK IN PROGRESS Jan]	17
* Repeal of Land Act To Exacerbate Land Issue	[THE WEEKLY MAIL 2-8 Mar]	21
3 Apr Press Review on Current Problems, Issues	[THE STAR, etc.]	23

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Angola

MPLA Air Raid Against Zambian Villages	[KUP]	25
Death of Kidnapped French Citizen Reported	[Luanda Radio]	25
UNITA Communique on Death	[Voice of the Black Cockerel]	25
UNITA Announces Military Promotions	[Voice of the Black Cockerel]	25
New Diplomatic Appointments	[Voice of the Black Cockerel]	26
More on UNITA Denial of Plane Shootdown	[KUP]	26
Experts Say Angolan Government Using Poison Gas	[Lisbon Radio]	26

Mauritius

* Personnel Changes Within SMF Reported	[LE MAURICIEN 10 Feb]	26
-----------------------------------------	-----------------------	----

Namibia

Iranian Embassy Opens on 23 Mar	[THE NAMIBIAN 28 Mar]	27
India Establishes Ties, Lifts Sanctions	[TIMES OF NAMIBIA 26 Mar]	27
Soviet Officials Meet Press on RSA Flights	[SAPA]	27

Zimbabwe

Tekere Refuses To Comment on Elections	[SAPA]	28
State Withdraws Charges Against Student Leaders	[SAPA]	28

WEST AFRICA

Ivory Coast

'Acts of Vandalism' Reported Near Abidjan	[Abidjan Radio]	29
President Mediates on French Technician's Behalf	[Paris AFRICA INTERNATIONAL No. 226]	29

Liberia

Armed Forces Chief: Nimba Rebels Surrounded	[Monrovia Radio ELWA]	29
Red Cross Head Calls For Talks With Rebels	[Monrovia Radio ELWA]	29

Kaunda at SADCC on Regional Self-Reliance

*MB0104085590 Lusaka Domestic Service in English
0500 GMT 1 Apr 90*

[Text] President Kaunda has called on all SADCC [Southern African Development Coordination Conference] countries to be cautious of events taking place in the world, including the changes in Eastern Europe, spearheaded by political and economic changes in the Soviet Union. He said among the notable events taking place in other parts of the world are the industrial agreements between the United States and Canada, the establishment of a Common Market in Europe 1992, all of which indicate that economic development in the southern African region depends on regional cooperation and integration.

Comrade Kaunda, who was addressing the nation on both radio and television last evening on the eve of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, SADCC's, 10th anniversary which falls today, said the subregion has enough raw materials and mineral resources which will provide a firm and reliable base for sustained development. President Kaunda pointed out that SADCC has not achieved much of the desired results because, individually, the member states have limited experienced manpower.

Meanwhile, President Kuanda has spelled out some of the successes and failures in the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, SADCC, regional grouping since its inception in 1980. Comrade Kaunda said (?despite) conflicts and negative views of some people who doubted whether SADCC would succeed, the SADCC member states have managed to combine efforts toward the achievement of the objectives of the grouping, realizing that meaningful development can only come through regional cooperation. He cited the completion of satellites in Zambia and Mozambique and airport projects in Botswana, Kenya, Tanzania, Lesotho, Malawi, and Swaziland, including road and railway projects in the whole region, as some of the major achievements SADCC has made in the transport and telecommunications sector.

PATU Ministerial Council Meets in Liberia

Agrees on Restructuring

*AB2603132090 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
2210 GMT 24 Mar 90*

[Text] The Ministerial Council of the Pan-African Telecommunications Union [PATU] has adopted several resolutions. The ministers agreed on such measures aimed at restructuring the union so as to make it responsive to the technological changes in telecommunications. They also resolved that the secretariat be mandated to conduct a study which will lead to the establishment of a center for telecommunications development in Africa.

The ministers pledged their support to the objectives and ideals of PATU and praised Liberia for the hospitality accorded the meeting of experts and the conference of plenipotentiaries. The chairman of PATU, [Liberian] Posts and Telecommunications Minister Morris Dukuly, assured members of the just ended meeting of Liberia's support for the hopes and aspirations of the union. Speaking last night at a reception hosted by the Liberian Government in honor of the delegates at the Monrovia City Hall, Minister Dukuly said Liberia welcomed Nigeria's accession to the post of secretary general of PATU.

Secretary Elected, Meeting Ends

*AB2603132290 Monrovia ELWA in English
1709 GMT 25 Mar 90*

[Text] The just-ended fourth ordinary session of the conference of plenipotentiaries on the committee of experts of the Pan-African Telecommunications Union, PATU, has approved a \$4.9-million budget for the union for the next four years. At the close of the conference at the Unity Conference Center Friday [23 February], the newly elected secretary general of PATU, Mr. (David Chuwoneka Oyewini) of Nigeria, challenged his colleagues to work together to achieve the goals of PATU. Mr. (Oyewini), also minister of posts and telecommunications of Nigeria [name and title as heard] said, despite economic problems facing the continent, member states should strive to pay their arrears to the continent. The new PATU secretary general takes office officially on the first Monday in July this year in Kinshasa, Zaire. Meanwhile Kampala, in Uganda, has been elected as the next venue for the PATU conference in 1994.

Cameroon**New Opposition Party Applies for Registration**

*AB2803104090 London BBC World Service in English
1615 GMT 27 Mar 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Registering a political party in Cameroon is not officially illegal, but is traditionally, a very risky thing to do. Yet four new parties have been set up in recent months. The latest is the Social Democratic Party which is based in Bamenda. While she was there, Elizabeth Blunt spoke to the Social Democrat's founder, Nii John Frundi, and she asked how far he has got with setting up his party.

[Begin recording] [Frundi] Well, I have tried as much as possible to follow the Constitution. I have made a formal application on to the honorable minister of territorial administration in Yaounde and presently we are waiting for a reply.

[Blunt] Have you had any reaction at all, has anything happened since you put the application in?

[Frundi] Well, when I put the application, I also took copies of my press release and also the application on to the security. I gave a copy to the Special Branch, I gave a copy to the Provincial Service of National Security and I have had a couple of interviews with them.

[Blunt] What sort of interviews?

[Frundi] Well, I mean, certainly they will want to know that my objectives are, what I intend to do, and so I have been having a chat with them.

[Blunt] Were they pleasant or were they unpleasant?

[Frundi] No, they were very friendly and the people were quite understanding. So far, I have not had any roughening from the police. They have been giving me their ablest cooperation to find out what I really want to do.

[Blunt] Because some people down in Douala who have been politically active recently have found themselves actually getting locked up.

[Frundi] Well, I will think that it is unfortunate that they are locked up, but I will think that, may be, they never followed the Constitution because if they follow the Constitution probably their case will be handled the way mine is being handled.

[Blunt] What happens now, I mean, if you don't hear [as heard], does that mean you can't have a party?

[Frundi] Well, I have clearly indicated in my press release and in the letter of application which we sent to the senior division officer that the Social Democratic Front has clearly indicated in its forwarding letter that it

will embark upon its political program if it does not hear from the honorable minister within two months, reckoning from the 16 March.

[Blunt] That takes us into May, doesn't it?

[Frundi] That takes us into the 16 May, and I think that the honorable minister, being a honorable man, will give us the answer we need to form a party.

[Blunt] If you don't get an answer, you say you will embark on your political program. What does that mean?

[Frundi] Yes, it means that we will float a party and get out to organize our party and find out if the population is interested. If they are interested, okay, we get on with the party.

[Blunt] But nobody is being allowed to form an alternative political party in Cameroon, virtually since independence. What makes you think you are going to manage this time?

[Frundi] Well, if people have not formed political parties since independence it just means that, may be, they fear—which I don't know what the fear is—our Constitution spells it out that you could form a political party and in my efforts to make the application, I had to study the Constitution and have I cited portions of the Constitution which permit people to form political parties in Cameroon.

[Blunt] The people have tried this before, haven't they?

[Frundi] Hmm, not to my ... [changes thought] Well, if they have tried before and they were suppressed, I think that did not follow the Constitution because I think they should be able to obey the Constitution. If they obey the Constitution they will be given a chance to try.

[Blunt] Now, you have been in politics yourself for many years and active member of the ruling and only party. Why did you suddenly change your mind to want to start an alternative? What's wrong with the ruling party, you've been a member of it yourself?

[Frundi] I think that the ruling party is doing a job quite alright and I am of the opinion that if my party is given a chance, we should work side-by-side with the ruling party. If there is anything wrong that I see with them, we should be able to point out that Mr. CPDM [Cameroon People's Democratic Movement] we think this is wrong; we should do it this way and not, [changes thought] because sometimes when you are alone you cannot take a straightforward decision. [sentence as heard] You might make a mistake and need somebody who can point out the mistakes to you.

[Blunt] So what is the difference between your party and the CPDM?

[Frundi] Well, both parties will preach democracy but we want to go into the practical side of democracy. We want to see democracy practised and not preached. [end recording]

Bar Association Meets, Urges Multiparty System

AB2803105690 Paris AFP in French 1542 GMT
27 Mar 90

[Text] Yaounde, 27 Mar (AFP)—The president of the Cameroon Bar Association, Lawyer Bernard Muna, today in Douala (in the western region of the country) firmly denounced human rights violations and called for a multiparty system in Cameroon.

Opening a lawyers'extraordinary general assembly to discuss the arrest of the former president of the association, Lawyer Yondo Black, Mr. Muna also expressed his support for a political party which is being formed, the Social Democratic Front. This party announced that it had filed an application for official recognition on 16 March.

According to concordant judicial sources, the trial of Lawyer Yondo Black by a military tribunal in Yaounde will open on 30 March. He was arrested at the end of February together with nine others for illegal activities, according to the government.

These detentions are the "symptoms of the disease" constituted by "the violations of human rights and the lack of democracy" in Cameroon, Lawyer Muna further stated before some 200 lawyers who met at a big hotel in Douala.

Lawyer Muna recalled that "the right to hold meetings and to create associations are guaranteed under the Constitution," and deplored the fact that "during the last 25 years in Cameroon, the citizens who have exercised these rights have been arrested, tortured, and detained."

Mr. Muna also denounced in strong terms the continued detention of a number of people implicated in the April 1984 coup attempt, "most of whom have completed their jail sentences." He also criticized the continued maintenance of the 1962 ordinances on the repression of subversion which, according to Counsellor Muna, are "unconstitutional and in violation of the universal declaration of human rights."

He also criticized former French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac's statement made at the end of February in which he said "the multiparty system is a luxury for developing countries." Counselor Muna said since "Africa has accepted the Western style of government, it should accept all its attendant structures in order to guarantee the respect of human rights.

The lawyers, who have been meeting since this morning, are expected to adopt a common declaration tonight at the end of this extraordinary general assembly.

Lawyers on Strike, Protest Colleague's Arrest

AB2903132090 London BBC World Service in English
1709 GMT 28 Mar 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Lawyers in Cameroon again on strike to protest the arrest of one of their senior colleagues, Yondo Black. He is due to face a military tribunal at the end of this week. Black is one of 10 men detained on political charges and the Cameroon Bar Association has been meeting to discuss their fate. From Yaounde, Vincent Saxe telexed this report:

[Begin studio announcer recording] The decision to strike came after six hours of debate by the lawyers. The strike is a protest not only at the detention of Yondo Black but also at a special law enforced since 1962 which allows people to be picked up and detained for long periods. The Bar Association, in a resolution adopted after yesterday's special assembly, called for the immediate suppression of this law and demanded that Yondo Black and his nine friends should be freed along with any other citizens arrested and detained under the law. The lawyers also demanded the release of all prisoners who have completed their sentence but are still in prison as is the case with an unknown number of people involved in a coup attempt in 1984. The authorities have not so far reacted to the Bar Association's resolution, while a march of militants of the ruling party, CPDM [Cameroon People's Democratic Movement], was announced for today.

Although the lawyers are now officially on strike, they have decided to work on two exceptional cases. The first case was today, when the lawyers defended the case Djeukam Tchameni. He has been detained for 16 months during which time he is believed to have been held in isolation and tortured. Tchamenai is being tried before the Yaounde military tribunal for allegedly having smuggled a cassette with revolutionary texts into the country.

The second case, the exception to the lawyers' strike, will be next Friday when Cameroon's best lawyers will again appear before the military tribunal of Yaounde for what is billed to be the trial of the year, the trial of Barrister Yondo Black. [end recording]

Demonstration To Support President in Douala

AB2903164690 Dakar PANA in English 1525 GMT
29 Mar 90

[Text] Yaounde, 29 March (CAMNEWS/PANA)—Over 30,000 persons marched through the streets of Douala, Cameroon, late on Wednesday to demonstrate their support for President Paul Biya, according to a report on Thursday.

The demonstrators walked some five kilometers of the city and later listened to speeches by officials of the ruling Cameroonian Peoples' Assembly Party.

In his speech, a party official, Mr. Jean-Jacques Ekindi, said "we are together here not to support but to again explain why we support some institutions, a political system, our party and the activity of His Excellency Paul Biya".

He noted that the meeting was significant in that it was held in the commercial capital of Cameroon, adding that this, viewed against the background of the upheavals in many countries of the world, showed the response of Cameroon to multi-partyism.

"The wind from the East is not a solution, it does not bring the seed that can grow in the garden of Cameroon. Our farmers know that the wind is destructive, whether it comes from the East or from the West", Ekindi stated, an apparent refusal of multi-partyism in the one-party country.

Observers note that the meeting was a response to the earlier meeting on Tuesday of lawyers in Douala who were supporting their colleague, Yondo Black, detained for campaigning for multi-partyism.

Trial of Former Bar Association Head Postponed

*AB3003170090 Paris AFP in French 1245 GMT
30 Mar 90*

[Text] Yaounde, 30 Mar (AFP)—The trial of former Bar Association Chairman Yondo Black and 10 other persons, which was expected to begin today, has been postponed to Tuesday [3 April] at the request of the defense, who expressed the wish that all appointed lawyers have access to the files, it was observed on the spot.

Yondo Black and the other accused were arrested in Douala at the end of February by the Criminal Investigation Service (CENER) police. They were accused of holding secret meetings and having written and distributed tracts that are hostile to the regime and offensive to the president of the Republic.

About 200 lawyers were present in the courtroom. There were also observers from various Western Embassies (Italy, Canada, the United States, Belgium, the Netherlands, the FRG, Spain, Great Britain, and the EEC) and a representative of the French Bar Association, Roger Doumih. An exceptionally large crowd was also present inside and outside the small courtroom.

The defense at this first hearing asked for registration of the fact that the dates on certain search and interrogation records had been changed, according to the lawyers. Yondo Black was smiling broadly, while one of the accused, Jean Michel Tekam, a pharmacist, did not appear because he was abroad, according to the defense.

Biya Support Rally Rejects Multiparty System

*AB0204171290 Yaounde Domestic Service
in French 1900 GMT 30 Mar 90*

[Excerpts] A popular support rally was organized this afternoon at the Yaounde City Hall for President Paul Biya and his New Deal policy. Tens of thousands of Cameroonians gathered to publicly show their solidarity with the head of state. The militants' support was also demonstrated by a support march which took them to the Yaounde Cathedral, where they attended a thanksgiving mass celebrated by Archbishop Jean Zoa. Several members of the government attended these various celebrations. [passage omitted]

This atmosphere of spirituality was preceded by a mammoth rally at the Yaounde City Hall plaza. Several thousand militants of the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement [CPDM] attended this rally. They were all dressed in the same uniform—that of our great national party—and it was difficult to distinguish ordinary citizens from members of the government. They are all members of the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement. Several dancing groups tried to outdo one another in performance. Each one wanted its banner to be seen better, so each tried to lift theirs higher than the other, or it had larger characters. But all were seen: they all said no to anarchy. [passage omitted]

Seven speeches were given at the Yaounde City Hall by party leaders of the Mfoundi District, representatives of workers, students of the Yaounde University, and businessmen. From all these speeches, one major fact came out clearly—Cameroonians are all behind President Paul Biya. [passage omitted]

The common theme of all these speeches is that Cameroon is presently preoccupied by other more serious problems—that of fighting against the economic crisis which stems from the great fall in prices of our raw materials: cocoa, coffee, cotton, and so on. It is, therefore, out of the question that at this time detractors of the New Deal policy, blindly following changes going on elsewhere, propagate disorder by raising the issue of a multiparty system in the country.

Is it the multiparty system that will bring a magic solution to our problems, Mr. Eba Basile asked the crowd—and who says Cameroon has not gone through any democratic experience? For some time now we have been witnessing elections with several candidates contesting one position and debate from all sides during election campaigns, while preserving our national unity. So let us give the multiparty system some time to gradually come to our country, Mrs. Rose Bangele, an official of the Mfoundi District Cameroon Women's Union, said. [passage omitted].

Party Militants Hold Support Marches

AB0304120690 Yaounde Domestic Service in English
1800 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Nationwide rallies in support of the CPDM [Cameroon People Democratic Movement] chairman and in condemnation of precipitated multiparty politics continued around the country today. After weekend rallies in Ngaoundere, Bamenda, Buea, and Yaounde, the political caravan was in Baffoussam today. Correspondent reports say that over 10,000 militants joined the bandwagon, brandishing banners in support of the one-party system in Cameroon. A little over a dozen speeches were pronounced at the rally. Nine provincial headquarters [words indistinct] for Wednesday.

Justice Minister Issues Warning to Lawyers

AB0304183090 Paris AFP in French 0855 GMT
3 Apr 90

Yaounde, 3 Apr (AFP)—Mr. Adolphe Moudiki, the Cameroonian minister of justice, has issued a warning to lawyers of the Cameroonian Bar Association, who have been boycotting court proceedings since 28 March to protest the conditions of arrest of the former president of their association, Mr. Yondo Black.

"The national lawyers body cannot be transformed into an association for the defense of the personal interests of its members," it was notably stated in a communique broadcast yesterday evening by the national radio, on the eve of the second hearing of Mr. Yondo Black's trial before the Yaounde military tribunal.

Mr. Yondo Black and 10 other persons were arrested last February in Douala and accused by the authorities of "holding secret meetings" and "circulating tracts hostile to the regime," it will be recalled. During an extraordinary general meeting of the lawyers, held in Douala on 27 March, the current president of the Cameroonian Bar, Mr. Bernard Muna, denounced human rights violations and publicly expressed support for the new embryonic political party, the Social Democratic Front.

"The order's general meeting cannot be a platform for its members to debate issues that have no relevance to the profession," the communique notably added and recalled that, before assuming office, "the lawyers take... an oath not to say or publish anything, as defenders or counsels, which may be contrary to... state security or to public peace and never to swerve from the respect due to the courts and public authorities."

To conclude, the justice minister reminded the lawyers that they are exposing themselves to disciplinary measures as provided by law.

Journalists Warned Not To Join New Party

AB2903212690 London BBC World Service in English
1615 GMT 29 Mar 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] There are reports of a crackdown on the media in Cameroon, with journalists being warned by telephone not to echo the voice of subversive Cameroonians, not to join the new political party, and that they were being watched.

Businessman Jailed Three Years for 'Subversion'

AB2903125090 Paris AFP in French 0806 GMT
29 Mar 90

[Text] Yaounde, 29 Mar (AFP)—Dominique Djeukam Tchameni, a young Cameroonian manufacturer, was sentenced last night to three years in prison by the Yaounde Military Tribunal on subversion charges, observers noted.

Mr. Djeukam was convicted of deliberately conveying to a Cameroonian Army captain an audio cassette from Captain Guerandi, one of the April 1984 coup leaders, who has sought refuge in Burkina Faso. The tribunal did not find him guilty of conspiracy, a charge leveled by the prosecutor, who had requested a life sentence against him.

The tribunal listened to part of the cassette in question behind closed doors, but the defense strongly disputed its authenticity. Mr. Djeukam admitted to having effectively carried a cassette destined to a Cameroonian Army captain, but he said he did not know the contents of the cassette and the true identity of Captain Guerandi, who he met in Burkina Faso under the name of Captain Traore.

When the tribunal handed down the verdict, the defense counsel was very surprised to see that the 17 months spent in custody by Mr. Djeukam were not taken into account in the prison sentence which takes effect from the day of his conviction by the tribunal. Mr. Djeukam had been in administrative custody since November 1988, shortly after delivering the cassette to the addressee, said his defense counsel which includes Bernard Muna, chairman of the Cameroonian Bar Association.

Before his arrest, 29-year-old Dominique Djeukam, who has two children, was the managing director of a Cameroonian computer manufacturing company, the Interlar Company, in the economic capital of Douala.

Present at the trial were many reporters and an observer from the U.S. Embassy (Mr. Djeukam's wife is a U.S. citizen).

Chad

Military Successes Claimed by Opposition

AB0304193590 London BBC World Service in English
1615 GMT 3 Apr 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] There has been a fresh flare-up of the fighting in Chad. The French Government has already reinforced its troops there and Hissein Habre's government has been claiming that troops of the Libyan-backed Islamic Legion have been active in eastern Chad along the border with Sudan. Well, today Chadian rebels, led by a former commander-in-chief in Chad, Idriss Deby, claimed in Paris to have scored big successes in a series of recent battles against Habre's forces. Ruth Obi asked our Paris correspondent, Thelma Golan, exactly what was being claimed.

[Begin recording] [Golan] Well, they are claiming hundreds of victims from the FANT, which is the National Chadian Army, and they said that they have won a great victory over the Chad Army in a series of battles which took place last week.

[Obi] Now what about these battles?

[Golan] They didn't say where the battles took place but according to information from Ndjamen, the capital of Chad, these took place not far from the frontier with Sudan and the Chad Government further claimed that the invaders had arrived into the Chadian territory from the Province of Darfur in Sudan.

[Obi] Now, has there been any independent confirmation of the rebels victory?

[Golan] I think the fact that the French Government decided and announced through the Ministry of Defense that they are reinforcing the Operation Epervier [Sparrowhawk], which is the French force in Chad, is a proof that, in fact, for once what the Chad Government is claiming is true because, in the past, Hissein Habre has used many times battles or confrontations with the Libyans as an excuse to ask for more aid and the French Government refused. This time they have announced of their own will that they are sending back soldiers, they are sending back planes to Chad.

[Obi] Just how many planes and soldiers, do you know?

[Golan] Well, the statement of the Ministry of Defense did not say. They just said that they are reinforcing their operation in Chad in order to protect their own soldiers, that's what they said.

[Obi] But (?conceivably) it could be used alongside Chadian troops.

[Golan] Exactly, according to LE MONDE—the military correspondent of LE MONDE is extremely reliable—they are going to send, or they have already sent in fact, 15 military combat planes, a few transport planes, and, what is most important, sophisticated electronic equipment for the detection of movements of troops. So, that proves that, in fact, they have accepted the claim by Chad Government that there had been a very major battle and that, in fact, maybe, the Chad Government had lost this battle.

[Obi] Now, as far as I understand, Chad, in fact, has been blaming the Libyan-backed Islamic Legion soldiers rather than Idriss Deby's group. Is there any evidence that the Islamic Legion were involved this time?

[Golan] Well, of course, we have no evidence. There is and there always has been, in the case of Chad, a war of communiques, the Chadian Government is issuing a communique in Ndjamen, the opposition is issuing communiques in an African capital, or Paris or other. So, we have to measure by what French sources are sort of leaking out. I think that in order to obtain the assistance of France, Chad had to claim that this has not been done by its own rebels—because then France will not intervene—that it was a foreign aggression. And this may be a major reason why it should say that they were foreign legion, Islamic Legion soldiers. The other thing is that we know from the previous wars that everywhere, whenever Libya was involved, it first sent the troops of the Islamic Legion and only later its own soldiers. So if they had caught one or two prisoners or if they had one uniform which was left in the field, that could be a proof that these were Islamic Legion soldiers rather than just the Idriss Deby soldiers.

[Obi] What do you think the Islamic Legion actually is these days?

[Golan] Well, it is very difficult to know. We know that not all the people who belonged to the Islamic Legion in the eighties—all these sort of soldiers of fortune from various African and Arab countries—not all these could go back to their own countries because they were afraid of what would happen to them there. Some of them were criminals, some of them were opponents of the regime, and to many of them the Libyan authorities have withdrawn their own documents. So, it is obvious that these people are still around in Libya, that they are not doing anything and, of course, it is easy for the Libyans to send them up to the front rather than send their own soldiers who hated the war in Chad in the eighties. [end recording]

Somalia

Interior Minister Receives Soviet Delegation

EA0104160790 Mogadishu Domestic Service in Somali
1700 GMT 31 Mar 90

[Excerpt] The Somali Democratic Republic's [SDR] interior minister, Abd al-Qadir Haji Mohamed, today received in his office a Soviet delegation from the Almaata region, headed by the deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Almaata regional council, Mr. (Barmakfay) who is currently visiting Somalia.

The SDR minister and the Soviet official discussed bilateral matters, especially the strengthening of relations and cooperation between Somalia and the USSR. They also discussed the friendly relations between the two countries and agreed that they require strengthening. [passage omitted]

Uganda

Court Hears Tape Recording in Ccup Plot Trial

AB2403121090 Dakar PANA in English
1126 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Kampala, 24 March (PANA)—The Uganda High Court Thursday [22 March] heard that 7 January was the day when the National Resistance Movement (NRM) Government would have been overthrown. All non-Basoga, Baganda and Bagisu (ethnic groupings) National Resistance Army (NRA) officers were to be killed, as well as all cabinet ministers who would not have surrendered to the coup plotters.

This was contained on the last tape among a series recorded by detective police officer, Lubega-Sserwada, which he exhibited in court as evidence against six men charged with treason. The particulars of the offence state that Capt Frank Kibuuka, Cpl Mike Muwonge, Sgt Yusuf Lubulwa, Kennedy Bwanika, Morris Kato, Muhammed Kyeyune and others still at large between 29 Oct 1986 and 6 January 1987 in diverse places around Kampala and Jinja, contrived a plot to overthrow the Uganda Government.

According to a voice identified by the detective as that of Capt Kibuuka, at a meeting which was alleged to have

been the last one on the eve of the coup, the fighting would have started at 1.00 GMT in various places of Kampala.

The captain was heard telling his men at the meeting, alleged to have taken place in Kampala, that he would be on stand-by to read special announcement on radio for the waiting masses. "We have overthrown the sectarian government of Museveni and the new president by the name of Prince Henry Kimera will be addressing the nation any time. So stay tuned in," said the voice trying to convince the participants at the meeting that all was well set for action.

One voice suggested that a passage for elite be created to enable them get out of Kampala. But all vehicles which were to be seen moving during the operation were to be destroyed. The operation would proceed to State House Entebbe after getting the strategic positions in Kampala.

Talks on Economic Cooperation With FRG End

EA2403075990 Kampala Domestic Service in English
1700 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Two days of consultations on this year's bilateral cooperation between West Germany and Uganda have ended in Kampala. The two sides have [word indistinct] this year's Uganda-German negotiations on economic cooperation in Bonn from 28th to 30th May.

A press release issued in Kampala today at the end of the meeting says the consultations reflected the good and friendly relations existing between the two countries. It also says the leader of the West German delegation, Mr. (?Christian Pott'kker), assured the Ugandan side that the dramatic events taking place in Germany and Europe will not affect German assistance to Uganda, which in previous years amounted to annual German commitment of \$24 million.

The Uganda delegation was led by the permanent secretary to the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development, Mr. Emmanuel Tumusiime Mutebile.

Prior to the consultations, the German delegation, which included the representatives of the German Bank for Reconstruction, KFW, and the German Agency for Technical cooperation, GTZ, visited the ongoing projects of Uganda-German Cooperation. They included the rehabilitation of the faculty of veterinary medicine at Makerere University, the Uganda Railways Corporation workshop at (Nalukolongo), the rehabilitation of the Jinja-Malaba road, the vocation training center in Jinja, and the animal health research centre in Entebbe.

Pietermaritzburg Leaders To Hold Peace Talks

MB0404110390 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0831 GMT 4 Apr 90

[Text] Pietermaritzburg April 4 SAPA—Peace talks between black community leaders are to be held at the Pietermaritzburg City Hall on Wednesday, SABC radio news reports.

About 20 leaders representing a wide spectrum of political parties are to attend, the radio said. The convenor is a prominent community leader, Alfred Hlope, who is the mayor of Edendale East.

Mr Hlope said the aim of the talks was to end the killings in and around the Natal capital.

He said invitations had been extended to the Edendale Landowners Association, the Ashdown Residents Association, the Imbali Town Council, KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member David Ntombela, local church leaders and his own town council.

Meanwhile, life is slowly returning to normal in Pietermaritzburg's embattled black townships—and residents could travel from the Edendale Valley to Pietermaritzburg without hindrance for the first time in more than a week on Wednesday, the radio added.

SABC's Pietermaritzburg news staff reported there was a significant increase in the profile of the security forces. Minibuses travelling on the main road between Edendale and the city were stopped and searched, while vehicles were also stopped and searched at Imbali and in the city.

The co-ordinator of the police plans to curb the violence in the township, Brigadier Jaap Burger, has arrived in Pietermaritzburg, where he is to implement the government's new strategies aimed at ending the unrest.

Police Put Unrest Toll at 53

MB0204181890 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1744 GMT 2 Apr 90

[By Mervyn Orchard]

[Text] Pietermaritzburg April 2 SAPA—Another 11 weekend deaths in Pietermaritzburg's neighbouring townships brought the toll to 53 since Tuesday [27 March] last week.

That was the official figure released on Monday afternoon by the SA Police, but unconfirmed reports of both fighting and isolated shooting incidents could see the figure top the 60 mark.

SA Police Liaison Officer Maj Piet Kitching said six people had died on Saturday in the Table Mountain area while Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi were conducting their aerial inspection of Edendale and surrounding areas.

Maj Kitching could not say whether any of the police or SADF [South African Defense Force] reinforcements promised by Mr Vlok had arrived.

He said there had been "some incidents" in the Edendale area on Monday.

Unconfirmed reports said two bodies were found in Imbali—the closest township to Pietermaritzburg.

Another trouble area was Ashdown where reports were received of sporadic gunfire throughout the day.

Gunfire was also heard in Caluza.

Absenteeism remained a major problem in the city on Monday.

From the KwaZulu's capital Ulundi, KwaZulu Chief Commissioner Brig Jac Buchner reported it had been a "relatively quiet day, though with some incidents". He declined to elaborate.

Mandela on Government's Natal Plans

MB0304132190 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1252 GMT 3 Apr 90

[Text] Pietermaritzburg April 3 SAPA—The problems with Mr de Klerk's decision to send in more policemen and Army troops, was that the perception the police were involved in the violence was deeply entrenched.

Present police training, moulded as it was by government's racist laws, did not make them a proper agency for peace. With the police force as it was at the moment, there could never be peace, he said.

Although the Army was viewed in a better light by some residents, there would continued to be problems.

Attacking criticism of the ANC's decision to pull out of the April 11 talks with Mr de Klerk, Mr Mandela said if it had been white people killed at Sebokeng, "white South Africa would be screaming at the top of its voice". "But because it's blacks, whites think it is not important."

It was a typical reaction of white South Africa to think the deaths at Sebokeng last week were not reason enough to suspend talks.

At least 11 protesters from the Vereeniging township (Sebokeng) were shot dead by police in the incident. The ANC and several other bodies disclaimed the legitimacy of the shooting. Police reportedly said they had fired on marchers in self-defence as they had been threatened.

Mr Mandela said he hoped to sort out the whole matter of the postponed talks on Thursday.

"But we won't allow the government to negotiate on the one hand and conduct war on the other."

Criticising allegations that peace efforts in Natal had come to a standstill, the ANC leader noted the present

violence had a long and bitter history. Efforts toward peace could not be expected to bear fruit in a couple of months.

The joint Inkatha-ANC rally which was to have taken place at Taylor's Halt had been cancelled because the venue was decided on by Inkatha alone, he said.

He and Mangosuthu Buthelezi had agreed to let local representatives discuss and decide on the venue, but Inkatha had decided without consultation, Mr Mandela claimed.

After it had become clear Taylor's Halt was an Inkatha stronghold, and with ANC leadership obviously angered, the rally had been cancelled.

"The hope is still entertained of seeing Dr Buthelezi but at present the atmosphere is such that very few support that idea," said Mr Mandela.

"We are working to bring about the proper climate so we can meet with Dr Buthelezi," he added.

The fight was not against Inkatha or any other black organisation but against apartheid.

"We would like to pool our resources with all other anti-apartheid forces."

Mr Mandela defended the ANC's policy of an armed struggle but said it would end as soon as political channels were open to black grievances. "When I went to prison 27 years ago, I could not vote," he said. "I still cannot vote."

His overwhelming impression as he toured the areas ravaged by the violence was of the high morale of the people, despite their losses.

On Monday night, he had visited the homes of two families in Imbali where shooting had been reported. Two men were dead, one of whom had been set alight as well.

"It was an experience I hope never to have again," he said.

Mandela, Delegation Tour Edendale Valley

MB0204183890 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1826 GMT 2 Apr 90

[By Guy Rogers]

[Excerpt] Pietermaritzburg April 2 SAPA—Shots sounded briefly as Dr Nelson Mandela and his visiting African National Congress [ANC] delegation on Monday moved along Mpelele Road, which divides Imbali's Inkatha and United Democratic Front sections.

Across the road, in Imbali Stage 2, a group of men stood watching as thousands of chanting youths followed the ANC procession.

"See. They are Inkatha," a bystander said, pointing them out.

Moments later three shots sounded. It was not clear who fired them. Nobody appeared to be injured.

This was the only confrontation as Dr Mandela and his entourage criss-crossed the ravaged Edendale Valley, inspecting conditions and talking to the people.

At Slingspruit, Dr Mandela called for peace. Enough people had died, he said, but those who had died in the fight against apartheid were to be praised.

At Imbali, he visited two gutted homes. In one, Mr Jabu Ndlovu, his wife and two children died as well. Neighbours said they left two more children, who were now homeless.

From Imbali, the huge procession crossed the valley to Ashdown, a UDF township rimmed by Inkatha shacks on the hills. As the colourful throng of chanting ANC supporters and journalists wended its way after Dr Mandela, the shackdwellers stood in tight groups silhouetted against the skyline.

At the African Congregational Church in Edendale, UDF leader Patrick Lekota told Caluza and Kwashange refugees that Dr Mandela and ANC Natal representative Harry Gwala would be talking to Inkatha. There was a small rumble of dissatisfaction but it quickly died.

Speaking at the Edendale lay centre on Monday morning, Dr Mandela said apartheid and not Inkatha was the enemy, and he would be seeking an opportunity to speak directly to Inkatha.

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu told SAPA Dr Mandela would not meet Inkatha President Mangosuthu Buthelezi during the next two days, however. Mr Sisulu told SAPA the present level of violence was one of the reasons the joint Inkatha-ANC rally due for Monday, had been cancelled. But however uncertain the Inkatha-ANC relationship remains, national talks appear to be back on track. [passage omitted]

'Fierce Fighting' Breaks Out in Edendale

MB0104195290 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1900 GMT 1 Apr 90

[Text] Fierce fighting has broken out again in the violence-torn Edendale Valley, near Pietermaritzburg.

An eyewitness told our Pietermaritzburg news staff that automatic weapons were used in the clash, which broke out near Khaluza this afternoon. The conflict appeared to be between members of Inkatha and the UDF [United Democratic Front]. No details of casualties are known yet.

Before the latest fighting, the death toll in the seven-day-old troubles in the area stood at more than 50. In violence at Imbali earlier today, two houses were burnt to the ground and police had to disperse about 400 people who were preparing to do battle.

Mandela, Sisulu Speak in Natal*MB0204125090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1201 GMT 2 Apr 90*

[By Guy Rogers]

[Text] Pietermaritzburg, April 2, SAPA—The ANC [African National Congress] was not fighting Inkatha but against apartheid, ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela told about 2,500 people crushed into the Edendale Lay Centre near Pietermaritzburg on Monday [2 April].

"They (Inkatha) must know we are keen to make peace. One day I hope to have the opportunity to speak directly to them to assure them that we are freedom fighters," said Mr. Mandela. Mr. Mandela called for unity and for efforts to be directed against apartheid.

"I will seek that opportunity (to speak to Inkatha). In the meantime we respect and we love you," he told the excited crowd, many of them children.

Earlier, at the Louis Botha Airport in Durban, ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said the present level of violence would have to subside before Mr. Mandela and Inkatha President Mangosuthu Buthelezi could meet on the same platform.

Flanked by Natal ANC representative Harry Gwala, UDF [United Democratic Front] Co-president Archie Gumede, Mr. Sisulu and another former Robben Island detainee Wilson Nkwayi, Mr. Mandela said in Zulu "freedom is coming."

The ANC entourage is headed for lunch at Mr. Gwala's house nearby Edendale after which they will head for Imbali to see for themselves the ravages of the violence of the past two weeks.

Mandela Says ANC To Assess Political Solutions*MB0104180490 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1600 GMT 1 Apr 90*

[Text] The deputy president of the ANC [African National Congress], Mr. Nelson Mandela, says the ANC will continue to work for political solutions and that, as soon as the government takes effective measures to stop police brutality, the ANC will examine the whole question and approach the government to set another date for negotiations.

Addressing a rally at Motherwell, near Port Elizabeth, Mr. Mandela said that South Africa had seen many demonstrations by whites on a wide variety of issues in the past and, as far as he could remember, the police had never opened fire against them, no matter how riotous and defiant they had been.

The massacre of innocents in the Vaal triangle a few days ago was an act of brutality that had to be condemned by all with a genuine interest in the future of South Africa.

Mandela Port Elizabeth Rally Said Largest Ever*MB0104172290 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1655 GMT 1 Apr 90*

[Text] Port Elizabeth April 1 SAPA—A tumultuous welcome from a huge crowd of ANC [African National Congress] supporters—believed to be the largest to attend a political rally in South Africa to date—greeted ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela on his arrival at Motherwell Township near Port Elizabeth on Sunday.

Mr Mandela was visibly stunned by the crowd size—estimated at between 300,000 to 400,000 by reporters—when he mounted the podium with several ANC regional leaders to address the rally at an open sports field.

ANC officials later claimed the crowd swelled to 500,000 as the rally got underway.

In a joint operation between Port Elizabeth Police and ANC marshalls, control points guided the huge volume of vehicle and pedestrian traffic to the venue.

As Mr Mandela mounted the stage a thunderous roar of approval rang out amidst a sea of clenched fists as the crowd surged forward to catch a closer glimpse of their leader.

He urged local rugby unions to forge a new unity across racial barriers. "Let bygones be bygones," he said.

ANC stalwart Mr Govan Mbeki announced the setting up of ANC regional offices in Port Elizabeth next week.

After the rally tens of thousands of toyi-toyiing [dancing] supporters formed a 5km-long human chain as they streamed back to neighbouring townships.

No incidents were reported as the crowd dispersed to their homes.

Police maintained a discreet presence throughout the rally with a police helicopter periodically hovering overhead.

Mandela Praises De Klerk's 'Welcome Approach'*MB0104165890 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1619 GMT 1 Apr 90*

[Text] Port Elizabeth April 1 SAPA—President F.W. de Klerk was the first white SA leader to come to terms with reality and was adopting a most welcome approach, ANC [African National Congress] Deputy President Mr Nelson Mandela told a mass rally in Port Elizabeth on Sunday.

The reality was SA was destined to become a non-racial and democratic country, he told the huge crowd estimated by reporters to number at over 200,000 supporters.

On Saturday [31 March] the ANC announced that talks with the government, scheduled for April 11, had been suspended in protest of the police shooting in Sebokeng on Monday which left at least 11 people dead.

Mr Mandela said the ANC was deeply concerned by the "wave of repression experienced by our people.

"The actions of the police against peaceful protest in various parts of the country are in direct conflict with the public positions being taken by the government. "Our people in the townships and in the countryside are experiencing a reality no different from that experienced under (former SA Prime-Ministers) Botha and Vorster."

Mr Mandela said reforms did not mean anything if the ordinary men and women in SA did not benefit from them in their daily lives.

The leadership of the liberation movement could not ignore this violence, he said. "The massacre of innocent protesters in the Vaal a few days ago is an act of brutality which must be condemned by all who have a genuine interest in our future."

He said after he had met the families of those killed, and spoken to the injured in their hospital beds, the ANC understood the bitterness of communities whose peaceful protests were met with live bullets.

Increasing repression could only increase the crisis facing the apartheid government, he said.

Mandela at Rally on Dismantling Homelands

*MB3103135390 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1345 GMT 31 Mar 90*

[Text] Bisho March 31 SAPA—The ANC [African National Congress] and the Mass Democratic Movement supported the holding of referenda on the dismantling of homelands, ANC Deputy President Mr Nelson Mandela told a mass rally at Bisho in the Ciskei on Saturday.

He told tens of thousands of people it was the rejection of the homeland system and desire to be re-incorporated into SA that had removed the "corrupt and repressive organs of apartheid in the Transkei and Ciskei."

He said this popular support had to be translated into strong organisation at all levels. "Without strong organisation ... disciplined struggle is impossible." It was more urgent than ever to build strong civic, youth, women and teacher organisations, he said.

Those people who were part of homeland structures but were attempting to break away must be encouraged and welcomed into the ranks of the ANC he said.

Tutu Calls For Inquiry on Sebokeng Shootings

*MB0104193290 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1854 GMT 1 Apr 90*

[Excerpts] Johannesburg April 1 SAPA—Archbishop Desmond Tutu on Sunday called on state President F.W. de Klerk to appoint a commission of inquiry to probe last Monday's [26 March] police shootings in Sebokeng.

In a statement the archbishop said the commission of inquiry into the Sebokeng deaths should comprise respected anti-apartheid lawyers.

Referring to the suspension of talks between the ANC and the government, Archbishop Tutu said: "The appalling behaviour of trigger-happy police has thrown our country into crisis."

Just as everyone had been looking forward to obstacles to negotiation being removed, police had derailed the process and thrown the country into gloom.

He issued the statement after preaching at three services in Sebokeng and neighbouring Evaton. [passage omitted]

ANC Spokesman Discusses Talks Postponement

*MB0204161190 Johannesburg International Service
in English 1120 GMT 2 Apr 90*

[From the "Africa South" program]

[Text] Whether the ANC [African National Congress] is uncertain of its strategy, of its leadership, or of its power base, it seems as if the organization is not ready for constructive negotiations.

Robert Meikel put it to Stanley Mabizela, the ANC's deputy head of foreign affairs in Lusaka, Zambia, that the ANC is neither ready for negotiations nor for power:

[Begin recording] [Mabizela] That is not the position. What has happened and what has caused the postponement of the talks is what happened in that township of Sebokeng, the killing of people who were marching peacefully to protest against their living conditions. That is what has caused a postponement. The talks have not been cancelled; the talks have been postponed.

[Meikel] On the other hand, there have been hundreds of people killed since 2 February, and the meeting between Mr. Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi, in Natal, has been cancelled as well, to stop the violence there. What is the reason for that?

[Mabizela] It was not pleasant, but we did not react. But, with the combination of the Sebokeng killings and the escalating violence by Inkatha in Natal, the ANC felt morally obliged, morally and politically obliged, to postpone these talks. It would be most insensitive on our part if we did not react in the manner we did.

[Meikel] Let me refer to this township in Natal a bit further. Is there a fear among the ANC to be outflanked on the left by the Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] and militant unionists?

[Mabizela] No, not at all, not at all. I assure you, my brother. The PAC is a very marginal organization. We have no problem with it at all.

[Meikel] But, it seems that the PAC is more active in the townships in Natal at the moment than the ANC.

[Mabizela] We really don't as yet have a structured organization inside. We are just at the beginning. We have said in many meetings, restructuring ourselves as to how we are going to operate, and we are just at the beginning. We have no presence yet there at all. Our presence is only expressed through those organizations that support our line of policy. I refer, of course, here, to the Mass Democratic Movement. [end recording]

De Klerk Warns Use of 'Full Weight' on Violence

*MB3003111590 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1105 GMT 30 Mar 90*

[Text] Cape Town March 30 SAPA—The government would be obliged to use the full weight of its power to restore law and order if certain elements on the left and right continued their present course of violence and lawlessness, the state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, said on Friday.

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club, he also warned that unbridled protest politics did a lot of harm and entailed serious dangers for the process of peaceful reform.

He said there was no room for violence from any quarter in determining the future of South Africa. "I therefore urge every leader to use his influence to bring an end to the violence and intimidation."

If good order was threatened, the government would not hesitate to act strongly.

He intended to address Parliament on April 2 in connection with this.

Referring to protest politics, Mr de Klerk said large masses of people proclaiming extreme positions in the streets promoted polarisation and violence.

"Demonstrators openly espousing violence or preaching class and racial hatred are playing with fire. Fanning these flames may easily lead to a catastrophic intergroup conflagration.

"What we need is peace and understanding...reasoned debate and cool deliberation, for which there is no substitute.

"All of us depend on the economy. It cannot be built and strengthened by strikes, boycotts and sanctions.

"Black education cannot be promoted by teacher and student stay-aways. Our medical services cannot be improved by protest marches and demonstrations."

If protests and demonstrations became a way of life they interrupted progress based on orderly and disciplined hard work, and resulted ultimately in unemployment.

Unbridled protest politics provided no solutions to South Africa's problems and he therefore urged everybody across the entire political spectrum to put the

negative and divisive era of protest politics behind them and join the government in serious negotiations about the future of the country.

"I say to those who spend so much energy and productive time on protest: You have made your point that you are unhappy about the status quo. We accept that. We are not satisfied with it either.

"Join us in doing something constructive about it. The time for building a new South Africa is now."

AWB Comments on De Klerk Parliament Address

*MB0304192290 Johannesburg Television Service
in Afrikaans 1545 GMT 3 Apr 90*

[Text] The AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] welcomed the state president's decision to intensify measures against violence but at the same time condemned the government for the decision that exiles returning to the country will not be prosecuted.

The AWB said in a statement released in Pretoria that the state president now has the opportunity to call the ANC [African National Congress] to order. The statement said the ANC was violating laws and defying authority but was not being confronted. The movement said that Afrikaners and whites were in danger, and that it will continue to mobilize protection commandos aimed at, as it put it, the dramatic collapse of the government, which has put itself on a sliding path of chaos.

*** Focus on White Backlash to De Klerk Reforms**

*34000489B Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 23 Feb-1 Mar 90 p 5*

[Ivor Powell article: "A Sinister Irony as the Right Takes to the Streets"]

[Text] The release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the African National Congress [ANC] started the music for a game of musical chairs in South African politics.

And when it stopped, the National Party [NP] was sitting in the Democratic Party [DP]'s chair. The ANC had become the official, if not parliamentary, opposition.

The DP was still thrashing around, trying to find a chair. And the Conservative Party [CP], formerly the parliamentary opposition, found itself, together with its allies on the far rightwing of Afrikanerdom, increasingly pursuing the extra-parliamentary strategies and forms of organisation which used to characterise the ANC and its allies.

- This week three ultra rightist militants, detained in connection with the death squad scandal, went on hunger strike. In addition to their own release, they demanded the release of Barend Strydom—long described by rightwingers as a "political prisoners"—

and the banning of the ANC.

- On Thursday last week a crowd of rightwingers—variously estimated, according to prevailing paranoia levels, as numbering 5000 and 75000—turned out on the streets of Pretoria to march against State President F W De Klerk's unbanning of the democratic organisations and to demand the reimprisonment of ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Some carried placards demanding that the government "Hang Mandela".
- Rightists have repeated threatened stayaways and strikes in the workplace if things in South Africa are not changed back to the way they used to be.
- Increasingly there are calls by fellow rightwingers to the Conservative Party to resign from what is now perceived as a sham parliament and take up the "struggle" in more militant, extra-parliamentary ways.

If there is a topsy turvy hilarity in the way the rightwing is taking instruction from those it wishes still to repress, there is also a far more sinister side.

Earlier this month groups of Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging supporters, after being addressed by AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] chief Eugene TerreBlanche as well as other rightwing leaders, went on the rampage in the streets of Pretoria, attacking black passersby and—how the ironies accumulate—smashing cars and other property belonging to (NP) city councillors.

In this case police chose not to invoke the Emergency powers they still possess, chose not to declare this one a riotous assembly. Though well represented, they did little or nothing to stop the AWB men as they swept, a tide of havoc, through the streets of the capital. On the contrary, there were reports of police expressing varying degrees of solidarity, from saluting the AWB's triple-7 emblem, to turning a blind eye, to actively cheering the rioters on.

The more the rightwing moves towards extra-parliamentary opposition, the more it will, in all likelihood, resort to an armed struggle. And unlike the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the Afrikaners is centralised, bristling with licenced weapons—and waiting to pounce from within the bosom of the police and the defence force.

If an underground threat is growing, so is one above ground. Faced with a common enemy the rightwingers are putting aside their differences and forming themselves into a increasingly united front. Rifts which opened up between the CP and the AWB in recent years are being bridged in an atmosphere of mounting urgency.

Where formerly, in seeking parliamentary legitimacy and opposition status, the CP was much concerned to distance itself from the neo-fascist AWB, the situation has changed dramatically in recent weeks. Now there is a tacit understanding that, unless the government can be unseated before it realises the massive reforms which

will almost inevitably come out of the negotiations process, the role of the Afrikaner rightwing will be progressively diminished.

As one rightwing source remarked: "We have the guns but we don't have the numbers. Unless we can get things back to the way they were, and quickly...I don't even want to think about what will happen. [Quotation marks as published]"

"But you mustn't forget," he added, "that the Boers were the ones who invented guerrilla warfare. It's still in the soul of our people, that fighting out of the darkness."

Such statements might represent little more than bravado. Certainly it requires a stretch of the imagination to picture the right going underground as the ANC did for 20 or 30 years of silent, seemingly hopeless struggle.

But this does not mean that moderates need not be concerned. For one thing there is the rhetoric of Eugene TerreBlanche. Though still somewhat discredited by the scandals surrounding his personal life, TerreBlanche has in recent weeks been making something of a comeback.

His style of blood and iron oratory, his appeal to divinely ordained racial destinies, his Wagnerian poetry, is what the rightwing wants (and needs) to hear. It is not inconceivable that the man might be rehabilitated and lead his folk into greater and more irrational militancy.

However, far more immediate damage can be done. Irresponsible police action, inciting of ANC crowds to violence under the guise of keeping law and order, could well lead to renewed hostilities—and ultimately to a derailment of the negotiating process.

* Rising Militancy of White Workers Noted

34000481C Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 2-8 Mar 90 p 11

[Eddie Koch article: "We've Never Seen the White Workers So Angry, Say Unions"]

[Text] RIGHTWING organisations are mustering support from white trade unions in an anti-government campaign that is rapidly acquiring all the trappings of a national socialist movement.

The far-right's drive to mobilise white workers comes at a time when conservatives are increasingly voicing anti-Semitic and anti-capitalist sentiments in the streets and squares where they hold their rallies.

"We should come to the table and discuss whether there is now room for a white labour party...in a broad sense there is a move towards such a situation," said South African Confederation of Labour secretary Nick Cillier in an interview with the WEEKLY MAIL this week.

"I think the white unions should shake off their commando syndrome—by that I mean work only for the

narrow interests of their own members—and strive for the solidarity of the white worker.”

The initiative coincides with calls for a general strike by white workers in key sectors of the economy. There are also signs that the white right plans to co-ordinate a campaign of extra-parliamentary resistance against the government's attempt to democratise South Africa.

And it comes at a time when white workers in the public sector are threatening “direct confrontation” with the government over a wage hike of 10 percent that falls way below the level of inflation this year.

Academic Mike O'Donovan recently conducted a survey of the political attitudes of white trade unionists.

He says white union leaders told him they were planning to form a new white labour federation that will organise across all sectors of the economy and act as an independent pressure group within a rightwing political coalition.

“Increased white worker militancy, the formation of new politicised labour movements and the decline of multi-racial unionism indicate that the time is ripe for the rise, again, of a white working class nationalism united, perhaps not under the 1922 slogan of ‘Workers unite for a white South Africa’, but under a banner akin to the swastika,” said O'Donovan at a seminar staged by the DUNCAN INNES LABOUR BRIEF last week.

He says moderate non-racial unions are losing large numbers of white workers to either the anti-apartheid Congress of South African Trade Unions or to racist right-wing unions.

“Officials of moderate non-racial unions such as the Boilermakers' Society and the SA [South African] Typographical Union say they have never seen white workers so militant,” O'Donovan told the WEEKLY MAIL.

Boerestaat Party leader Robert Van Tonder said: “There are moves afoot in the unions. Many white workers feel that they have been betrayed by the National Party and that their jobs are not protected against black labour any more.

“The situation might develop that you had in 1922, when white workers armed themselves and fought a civil war against the government when they were paid off by the mines and replaced with black workers.”

Officials from some of the biggest white unions in the country—including the Mine Workers' Union and YSTER EN STAAL—are spearheading the drive to build a conservative political movement for white workers.

Peet Ungerer, general secretary of the Mineworkers' Union, said there was “strong reaction from white workers at this stage”, and confirmed there was a push to recruit more of them into the conservative labour movement.

“We are holding a number of meetings with members all over the Transvaal regarding matters of great concern to us,” he said. Ungerer refused to divulge any details about his strategies.

Asked if his union would support defiance by the Conservative Party [CP] and far-right groups against the government, he said: “If my executive okayed it and the feedback from my members is in favour of it, then that's how it will be.”

Phillip Strauss, general secretary of the Running and Operating Staff Union on the railways, told the WEEKLY MAIL his organisation had begun to recruit white workers from all job grades on the railways, especially those disillusioned with the moderate leadership of other white unions.

Strauss, a senior office-bearer in the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, was cautious about supporting calls for a general strike and other forms of illegal industrial action.

But he warned that the recent agreement between railway authorities and the South African Railway and Harbour Workers' Union had set a precedent for white workers.

“Management has condoned illegitimate strike action and, therefore, won't be able to do anything to our members if they also take illegal action,” he told the WEEKLY MAIL.

And in a recent article published in the CP organ, DIE PATRIOT, under the heading “What Options for the Right in Today's South Africa?”, Strauss says he believes a three-day stayaway by white workers could shut down the economy.

But Duncan Innes, professor of industrial relations at the University of the Witwatersrand, believes the white labour offensive will be blunted by the complacency of most white workers.

“I think that if the rightwing can win over white unions to a more militant government position it will strengthen their position enormously,” said Innes.

“But ever since they were defeated in the 1922 strike, white workers have had no tradition of militancy and they still enjoy a privileged way of life in South Africa. It will not be easy to get their support.”

The rightwing labour lobby will also be weakened by large-scale retrenchments in the metal, mining and railway sectors—precisely the areas where their power lies.

“Most whites in the mining industry, for example, are employed in a superfluous supervisory capacity,” says O'Donovan. “If they do go on strike, production will be unaffected.”

The white labour lobby amounts to what could be described as a “workerist” tendency within the rightwing movement. While its leaders are prepared to throw the

collective muscle of their members into specific rightwing campaigns, they are wary of a permanent relationship with any of the conservative parties.

"Our trade unions supported the National Party and brought them to power in 1948. Now the unions have to fight the Nationalists. Who is to say that history won't repeat itself if we support any other party today?" said Cillier.

The CP has announced it is preparing for a massive rally in three months' time, where the white working class and other rightwing constituencies would help draft a blueprint for defiance known as the "Freedom Manifesto".

* Move Toward Afrikaner 'Volkstaat' Examined

34000483A Cape Town THE ARGUS
in English 21 Feb 90 p 17

[First paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Will the new mood of the political Right prompt various splinter groups to bury the hatchet and march unitedly towards an Afrikaner volkstaat? The Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg examines the possibilities.

Conservative Party [CP] leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's emotional address to thousands of whites at the Pretoria City Hall last week was interspersed with references to the volkstaat—a word which for many years was only used by far-right organisations such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and the Boerestaat Party.

It appears as if Dr Treurnicht, despite CP glee about the vociferous support for its "Action One Million" campaign against sweeping government reforms, has accepted that the bitter battle to retain white domination in South Africa as a whole has been lost.

"Everyone now seems to agree on the ideal of a volkstaat," one prominent rightwinger commented this week. "The only remaining issue is the size."

Recent reforms such as the unbanning of the African National Congress [ANC] and the release of Mr Nelson Mandela have unleashed unprecedented anger among

many whites. Demonstrating their "Now or never" attitude, they are taking to the streets and flocking to city halls to demand the toppling of the De Klerk government.

Despite emotional addresses to rowdy crowds, including ominous threats of violence, right-wing leaders concede that there are only two options: force a white general election on the government, which they believe they would win, or starting to draw up proposals for a volkstaat which can be put on the negotiating table.

These leaders agree that united action is vital to muster maximum white support against reform. But true to the Afrikaner's feuding history, various organisations insist they should lead the last battle for survival.

Said the CP's Transvaal chief secretary Mr Andries Beyers: "The Afrikaner struggle has been completed. Various organisations still have their own role to play, but everyone recognises the CP as the driving force in the struggle for our own fatherland and Dr Treurnicht as the leader of that struggle. The organisations who don't are so small that they should not even have been taken into account."

Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder said the CP was hijacking the volkstaat ideology as supported by his organisation, the NHP [Reformed National Party], the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] and the Transvaal Separatists.

Despite the differences between many right-wing organisations, they could achieve unity on the principal aim: to defeat the government.

"Politics makes strange bedfellows. We say: 'Reinstate the original Boer Republics.' For this aim we will co-operate with the devil. But the CP has always balked on that principle."

He said the CP would have to accept the mood of the volk, and the volk wanted the reinstatement of the Boer Republics.

"If they accept that ideology—and we are working on them all the time—we will be prepared to form some sort of a pact."

Mr Beyers singled out the HNP as one organisation with which the CP would achieve closer co-operation in future, and added: "We basically have good relations with all the other groups, except perhaps the AWB, which has to sort out its own problems in the wake of its split."

In the meantime, the HNP—a parliamentary party which has only had one MP [Member of Parliament] since its inception in 1969—seems to be forging closer ties with the extra-parliamentary AWB. The two organisations are staging a series of joint public meetings against National Party reforms.

Commented HNP chief secretary Mr Louis van der Schyff: "There is no sense in unity. What we need is unanimity in public action."

The CP, which claims it is leading the struggle for white self-determination, is also organising rallies countrywide to demonstrate voters' opposition to reform. It believes this will force President De Klerk to the ballot box.

Pretoria March

The CP as the largest right-wing group drew support from a range of organisations, including the AWB and Boerestaat Party, for its Pretoria march last week. But the CP has dismissed the HNP/AWB suggestion that it should force by-elections through mass resignations from serving MPs and municipal councillors.

Mr Van der Schyff, however, remained adamant that this strategy had been proved since 1924 to be the best recipe for toppling a government.

He said: "There are nearly 500 wards held by CP and HNP councillors. If they resign, municipal elections will have to be held in nearly 80 parliamentary constituencies within a maximum period of 11 weeks.

"We don't want the CP MPs to resign. They should intensify the campaign in parliament while municipal elections are being fought.

"The NP says it will not contest such elections. But that attitude says it all. It simply illustrates that we have already achieved a moral victory."

*** Teachers Increase Militancy Against DET**

34000483C Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 23 Feb-1 Mar 90 p 10

[Phil Molefe article: "'Enough is Enough,' Angry and Militant Teachers Tell DET;" first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Black teachers have suffered years of frustration and suppressed anger. Not since 1955 and the resistance to Bantu Education have they taken so militant a stand.

Black teachers around the Reef have erupted in anger, taking to the streets, holding jam-packed meetings and openly defying the Department of Education and Training (DET).

From Soshanguve and Mamelodi in Pretoria to the Vaal Triangle in the South, from Ikageng to Katlehong on the East Rand, thousands of teachers have unleashed their message: "Enough is enough". It started in Johannesburg last week when 5 000 teachers from Soweto and Alexandra marched to the offices of the DET regional director in Braamfontein.

Behind the freshly confrontational and militant stand the teachers have taken lies years of frustration and suppressed anger.

Not since 1955 when black teachers protested the introduction of Bantu Education have they come out so strongly against education authorities and the government.

Throughout the years teachers have grumbled quietly, not daring to speak up on issues like poor working conditions, low wages, racial discrimination and inequalities in the white and black education system, retrenchments and alleged DET corruption.

When students marched in June 1976, demanding the scrapping of Bantu Education, teachers watched from a distance. Only the isolated and rather muted voice of the Soweto Teachers Action Committee, led by Fanyana Mazibuko, TW Khambule, Curtis Nkondo and Lekgau Mathabathe, was heard when about 200 high school teachers resigned their posts in 1977 in support of

student grievances. And many soon returned to their posts when the government threatened them with an ultimatum to re-apply for their jobs.

The teaching fraternity, like other sections of the public sector, was left unmoved in the wake of widespread industrial action after 1979. When workers throughout the country challenged their bosses on improved working conditions and better wages, organisations like the Transvaal United African Teachers Association (Tuata) only sent circulars and memoranda to Pretoria.

But today, a new spirit is emerging. "The ice is finally broken and enough is enough," said Jimmy Sithole, chairman of the Vaal Progressive Teachers Organisation (Vapto), to resounding shouts of "Viva ANC [African National Congress], Viva Neusa", addressing the Vaal teachers' meeting held on Tuesday at Sebokeng's Mphatlalatsane Hall.

Said Nkondo, president of the National Education Union of South Africa (Neusa): "The latest developments in the education sector are an exposure of years of suppression, years of misery and years of stress and strain. The anger has been simmering for many years and now the teachers have finally taken the matter in their own hands."

Nkondo believes that for a long time many teachers have longed for a political home in the Mass Democratic Movement [MDM] in order to articulate their grievances, anxieties and aspirations. "Political education will ensure that teachers understand they belong to the community and as members of the community they should belong to civics, women's structures, youth congresses and all other organisations within the MDM."

About 5 000 teachers from the Vaal townships of Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Evaton, Bophelong, Boipatong and some from as far afield as Parys and Heilbron in the Orange Free State, defied the DET and took half a day off work to attend the meeting.

Despite strict DET regulations, they came to school wearing ANC T-shirts and stickers and carried the liberation movement's flag as they marched to the hall.

Sithole said Vapto would align itself to other "mass, democratic and progressive" organisations in the country. The organisation also resolved to affiliate to Neusa.

Nkondo, who was guest speaker at the meeting, said education could not be separated from politics.

"For a long time teachers have been told not to be involved in politics but the very education system you serve under was designed to achieve a certain political goal.

"Black education is wrong because it domesticates. It is a weapon to keep the people down for ever...White education is also wrong because it indoctrinates. It teaches a white child that he is superior."

A Vapto manifesto, which is the result of "careful consideration of the present political situation in South Africa and its effect on education", rejected as fallacy that teachers should be apolitical "in an increasingly politicised society".

The manifesto also condemned the disparity in government expenditure between white and black education, victimisation of teachers by circuit inspectors and the regional office, favouritism in appointments and promotion of teachers and the retrenchment of teachers despite overcrowding in black schools.

The teachers rejected the proposed 12 percent increases and adopted the Congress of South African Trade Unions' (Cosatu) living wage campaign.

Also on Tuesday, more than 1 500 teachers met at the Mamelodi YMCA to discuss retrenchments and demand a living wage.

According to Mamelodi Teachers Union (Matu) representative, Squire Khumalo, all teachers from Pretoria's townships of Atteridgeville, Mamelodi, Ga-Rankuwa, Mabopane and Soshanguve will march to the offices of the regional director next week to present their grievances.

In Katlehong, about 1 000 primary and high school teachers also took half a day off work last Friday to attend a meeting at Alafang High School, called by the Katlehong Progressive Teachers Committee.

The teachers demanded a living wage, an end to harassment, by officials and the appointment of white teachers in the township when there are many qualified black teachers without jobs.

On Wednesday, 3 000 teachers and principals from the Soshanguve Teachers Union (Sotu), marched to the offices of the Pretoria North Circuit and presented a memorandum of grievances to DET officials Job Schoeman and TL Kekana.

Traffic was halted as the teachers, wearing ANC T-shirts and stickers, chanted and toyi-toyed in the street, hoisting the movement's flag high as they marched for three kilometres.

The teachers demanded the reinstatement of teachers evicted from hostels; that dismissed principals and inspectors should not be reappointed; that unmarried teachers who are pregnant retain their posts; the employment of more teachers to alleviate the problem of understaffed schools and that more schools be built. The teachers have given the DET until next Thursday to respond.

In Ikageng, all primary and high school teachers also marched to the DET offices with similar demands.

* Land Redistribution Debate Analyzed

34000486B Braamfontein WORK IN PROGRESS
in English Jan 90 pp 23-28

[Jo-Anne Collinge article: "The Land"]

[Text] The Freedom Charter's declaration that the 'land shall be owned by those who work it', has held out the promise of an eventually-just response to a long history of dispossession by violent conquest and forced removal.

It is seen as the salve to bitter suffering, such as that endured by the Mfengu of Humansdorp, who were removed at gunpoint to Elukhanyweni in the Ciskei. One of the victims from this area put the answer to his problems this way: 'If they can return me back to Humansdorp to stay there I will be like a fish in the river'.

But as liberation draws closer and the debate on post-apartheid policies gains sharpness, the complexities of implementing this unqualified promise of repossessing the land become closer.

While land reform will undoubtedly be a major element in the policy of a post-apartheid government, just where this programme will shake down in the priorities of national development and stabilising the economy is an open question.

At a recent conference in Amsterdam, African National Congress [ANC] legal affairs chief Zola Skweyiya summed up: 'Land reform is not conceived as a single policy objective to the exclusion of all others, but multiple objectives would be combined in varying arrangements of priority'.

Tensions between the political imperative for land redistribution and economic constraints were highlighted by Tessa Marcus, another ANC contributor to the Amsterdam debate. 'Land reform has frequently fallen victim to political expediency', she observed. 'Measures have been devised to deflate political and social unrest and/or to win the support of key social forces in the countryside without, however, taking into consideration the broader economic and political implications these carry'.

When such ill-founded plans failed, she suggested, the reaction was often to revert to an 'economic' approach, which involved tinkering only with the most obvious injustices while actually retaining the status quo. 'Disregarding national and social grievances in the interests of narrow economism generates considerable political discontent and social disruption and invariably fails economically as well'.

The sense conveyed by Marcus that land and agrarian reform is a tightrope walk, a delicate balancing act, is echoed by others contributing towards formulating ANC policy in this area.

Economist Helena Dolny has cautioned: 'The repossession of the land may take various forms over an extended period. Land claims made for the repossession of land will be tempered by the need to maintain agricultural production'.

But, she adds: 'There are certain demands of those who have participated in rural struggles for decades whose needs must be immediately addressed. Those who have more recently struggled against removal from so called "black-spots" should regain their land without delay. Labour tenants who have worked the land for generations should receive legal rights to the land'.

Bold intervention by the state in both land and agrarian reform remains a cornerstone of thinking within the ANC. While the principle of nationalisation of land is not in question, there is much debate about how much land the state could or should acquire, where it should be located and to what degree white farmers should be compensated.

Both political and economic factors shape this debate. Setting the overall ceiling on possible intervention by the post-apartheid state, is the political dimension. If, in a negotiating situation, forces representing apartheid land owners impose their will on the settlement, the possibilities for land distribution are likely to diminish.

In Zimbabwe, for instance, the terms of the Lancaster House agreement caused the Mugabe government to fall far short of its targets for resettlement of the landless. The undermining feature was the provision in the Bill of Rights for a particular form of compensation for the owners of lands to be nationalised. It made land reform unbearably costly and in nine years the Zimbabwean government resettled only 50 000 families—while it had aimed to relocate 162 000 families in three years.

Present ANC thinking on compensation is shaped partly by the fact that present ownership patterns rest firmly on what Dolny calls a 'a violent process of dispossession...sanctified and given legal status'.

She adds that confining the compensation issue to white farmers 'overlooks the feeling of African communities that they have a right to be compensated for decades of dispossession'.

If the outside limit on nationalisation still remains vague, there is no doubt that ANC thinking firmly rejects the market as a mechanism for redistributing land. It is repeatedly pointed out that under the market mechanism of apartheid rule, a process of intense concentration of land took place even among white farmers. The figures compiled by David Cooper, showing a decrease in the number of farming units during the years 1960 to 1985 from 116 848 units to 59 088, are cited as evidence.

Implicit in the foregoing is the perception that eliminating racial restrictions on land ownership is a necessary but completely inadequate feature of post-apartheid land policy.

The Constitutional Guidelines of the ANC provide, in addition to the lifting of racial restrictions, for 'implementation of land reforms in conformity with the principle of affirmative action, taking into account the status of victims of forced removals'.

Skweyiya elaborated the underlying objectives of the land provisions in the guidelines. They were:

- to stimulate economic development;
- to increase agricultural production;
- to increase employment on the land;
- to increase incomes of the rural population;
- to bring democracy to the rural population;
- to maintain and strengthen to a certain extent the institution of the family farm.

When these objectives are brought to bear on the question of nationalisation, the most conservative option—that of merely making 'unoccupied' white-owned farms available to landless rural people—hardly fits the bill.

Marcus argues that it is 'highly contentious to suggest that this land is "abandoned" or "disused" because whites have ceased to live on or work it'. Such land is often still heavily populated and worked by black people—although it is often under-utilised due to overcrowding and lack of resources.

The second question Marcus poses is what purpose it would serve to expropriate only the least fruitful land, which even heavily-subsidised white farmers had been unable to put to profitable use. 'The state would have to divert large amounts of limited resources into these areas with very little gain, while the richest land areas would remain untouched, firmly in the hands of private, mostly-white, highly-capitalised farmers'.

Even partial nationalisation, she insists, 'must make inroads into the heart of power in this sector'.

Paying for this is the problem—economically, politically and, finally, morally.

Dolny highlights the moral poser. 'It is in principle unacceptable that the repayment of former land owners should become a national burden on the labouring population. South Africa's agrarian and industrial capitalists have for decades enjoyed wealth exclusively produced by exploitation of the South African labouring people'.

She dismisses as probably-impracticable the idea of divesting land of its marketable value and nationalising without compensation. Instead, she proposes a way of establishing a land valuation committee to revalue land, basing its calculations on both the productive capacity and the profitability of the land.

The Land Bank presently operates such a system, she points out. But actual land prices are more than double the value at which the Land Bank assesses them.

A further proposal by Dolny is that compensation for nationalised land need not be made in cash payments (a

method which would severely limit the pace of redistribution), but in government bonds.

One of the conventions that the ANC land debate scatters on the wind, is the notion that freehold tenure is necessarily superior to other forms of tenure or that it ensures the security it is taken to guarantee.

It is proposed that, where individual farmers desire to work the land, they should be leased state land and given the guarantee that their descendants would be entitled to inherit this leasehold.

Even in the case of commercial white-owned farmers, proprietors might not be averse to their land being nationalised while the farming enterprise remained in private hands. Instead of owing huge amounts to banks—and paying heavy bond instalments—such farmers would be able to plough their money more directly into improving production.

The ANC is far from prescribing a predominant form of organisation of agricultural production in post-apartheid South Africa. No dogmatic positions have been taken on the relative productiveness of small units versus extensive farms.

There is no explicit bias toward cooperative farming over family enterprise. The realistic pros and cons of state farms are weighed up against the more conservative employee share ownership schemes (esops) in agriculture. The available skills, the attitudes of participants, their resources and their histories are factors to be taken into reckoning.

Underlying the debate is an awareness of the complexity of interests in rural South Africa and the material transformation that huge sections of the population have undergone since removal from their land or ejection from the white-owned farms.

Few rural households do not overlap with the urban working class through the practice of migrant labour. The fruits of this overlap vary widely—some households are forced to subsidise the wages earned in the cities by working their land or renting it to others to work. Other households, with surplus cash from wage labour, are able to reinvest in agricultural production.

There are tens of thousands of labour tenants who have lived for generations on land they do not own and who regard the white owners as temporary usurpers of their property. There are hundreds of thousands who were forcibly removed from their own freehold land and have been without a corner to plough.

There are some whom the patronage patterns of the bantustans have deprived of their land. And there is a small group favoured by the bantustan authorities who have consolidated quite large farms.

All of these have an interest in getting their hands on secure land. But, without affirmative state action, some have a much better chance of succeeding than do others.

Those who have skills and capital also have a much better chance of turning their land to productive use.

ANC researchers see land reform within the context of agrarian reform. To share out the land is scarcely ever sufficient to redistribute the means of agricultural production. A range of material forms of assistance and extension work would be necessary to turn South Africa's poorest into farmers once more.

The South African state has long poured huge amounts into (white) farming. Experts expect that any post-apartheid government will do likewise, making its aid more varied and targetting disadvantaged groups.

Never far from the surface in the sketching of this vision of development is a political tension. There is the sense that differing class interests and the tension between urban and rural demands are never far from the minds of those who contemplate land reform.

Marcus cautions in particular against viewing constitutionally guaranteed rights in isolation from political mobilisation.

'Constitutional protection on the land question obliges the national democratic state to act on it... (but) it is not a substitute for political and social organisation in the countryside. Strong rural organisation is essential to ensure that popular constitutional rights to the land materialise and are given their broadest and deepest interpretation'.

No matter the government in power, its land policy will only work if it responds to land struggles and to rural people's ideologies and perceptions of land.

This is the central tenet around which Transvaal Rural Action-Committee field worker Aninka Claassens ranges her proposals for a post-apartheid land policy.

After nearly seven years of work with communities resisting forced removal, she says: 'What I've seen in rural land struggles is that people fight for their notion of land rights, a notion which is much stronger than anything this present government has managed to impose.'

'I think it'll be the same under any future government. The system of land tenure has to be brought in line with what people believe their right to be'.

What Claassens proposes is that the post-apartheid state adopt a land policy that is both radical in its break with the past and its racial patterns of ownership, but gradual in implementation, paced essentially according to the claims made by organised rural people.

It is a proposal that combined decisive and continuing state intervention with a repudiation of centralised planning of land allocation.

It rests on a radical redefinition of land rights, stripping away the myth that property rights, expressed as private

ownership through title deeds, are an objective relation and therefore entitled to be regarded as the overwhelming claim to land.

And it depends for its execution more on the exercise of state mediation than state planning; on a process whereby contending claimants to the land could stake their claims in terms of the range of rights acknowledged in the new code of law—and a state commission would adjudicate.

'What I'm basically talking about is a situation where land is seen in historical context and the state develops a set of parameters to mediate peoples' claims to land—going right back to all the different groups that have lived on the land and balancing peoples' claims in terms of birthright, in terms of occupancy of the land, in terms of their productive usage of the land. The system would acknowledge the right of inheritance'.

These rights (which do not purport to be a comprehensive list), observes Claassens, are respected in many African cultures and have a resonance in other cultures too.

Similarly, although private property and trade in property is foreign to African tradition, it is a notion which has gained currency among black people who 'by entering into the conqueror's terms' have hoped to gain 'some flimsy protection against white dispossession'.

Claassens reasons: 'So private property is one of the rights that must be put alongside the others and mediated against a set of criteria. I think as long as there is a very strict set of criteria and a very formal way of mediating those claims—and it is seen to be fair—then this transfer of land can be non-racial. It won't always be white to black, although in most instances it will'.

To illustrate, she sets the case of a white farmer, born on the land and farming it productively, whose claim would probably be viewed as 'very legitimate', against that of a white absentee farmer, who owned his land in title only. The latter's claim, weighed against those of his black tenants (whose families had occupied the land for generations and worked it—although not so productively) would be weak.

Just as the final award of the land would depend on the weighing of various rights to it, so the amount of compensation should be made proportional to the rights to the land the present legal owner could establish. Under such a reckoning, an owner who had virtually abandoned his land might be found to deserve little, if any, compensation.

Tying the pace of land redistribution to the way in which people are able to mobilise and organise to lay claim to the land would have a number of positive features, Claassens imagines.

First, the mobilisation of land claims is unlikely to occur so suddenly and widely as to cause dislocation in agriculture and adversely affect total food production. Maintaining the nation's capacity to feed itself is likely to be a priority for any new government.

Second, it contains some guarantee of productive results. 'New forms of agricultural organisation are only going to be as viable as the people who are going to be the actors in them. And that means you've got to have people who want the new form of organisation, who have the basic skills and experience to maintain it'.

Third, Claassens reckons, that the process may be gradual but it should be incremental. 'In areas which are less organised there won't be destabilisation, but the kind of potential those people will see in terms of other groups laying claim to land and using it will generate more and more organisation to take over land'.

And fourth—it is a bulwark against planners imposing inappropriate measures on a reluctant population.

While acknowledging the role of central intervention in certain aspects of agricultural planning, Claassens is implacably opposed to prescriptive centralised planning of land allocation and use. She sees a whole range of such interventions—from the ujamaa movement in Tanzania, to collectivisation in Eastern Europe and the betterment schemes of South Africa—as equally disastrous in their outcomes.

'One must look for the reasons in the kinds of imperialist notions that underpin that kind of planning. The critical problem has been that rural people haven't been properly consulted, or understood and respected in terms of developing planning priorities'.

She acknowledges that the lack of a concerted rural political voice makes the incorporation of rural demands into the challenge for state power difficult. The urban bias of major political formations like the Mass Democratic Movement has compounded this lack.

'This doesn't mean that there aren't very active, militant rural struggles going on. We've seen from our work that these exist all around the country—but they're not widely known to urban people.'

'In many instances they have been well organised, cohesive processes that have mobilised entire communities who've fought and gone to jail and even died for their land'.

Claassens argues that the variety of forms of struggle indicates the need for a diversified approach. 'And I think that there are enough different kinds of struggles to indicate the way forward.'

'For example there are enough struggles of, say, tenants (on white farms) and bantustan peasants for the extension of family farming to show that that's a major demand and a productive course.'

'There are other indications from people in more mechanised farming areas that they see the future resolution of the land problems in their areas to do with collective farming. And there are other instances, particularly in church land projects, where farm workers have not had the kind of confidence that they want to run the farms themselves. They see the issues as better wages, more security and better working conditions'.

Noting that South African agriculture is often referred to as dualistic—with a highly capitalised sector comprising mainly huge white-owned farms, with high productivity and marginal areas in which black occupancy is high, she reasons that the claims by black occupants will initially be strongest in the marginal areas.

'But I don't hold with the view that changes in the peripheral areas are a sell-out solution which does not affect the major inequity in the rich land because that's a very static view of reallocation that doesn't pay enough respect to the notion of struggle—of people getting land over time, through forms that are appropriate to them'.

Whether nationalisation of the land would be necessary or appropriate as a means of facilitating the awards made by a land claims commission, Claassens is uncertain. But she emphasises that even if the state is the nominal owner, the form of tenure granted the occupant should be irrevocable and completely secure.

'I think one's got to move away from the dichotomy between nationally- and privately-owned land and look more at the real issue of security of tenure and where that comes from'.

Finally, in counter-balance to her ideas of struggle-centred reallocation, Claassens concedes vital areas apart from the legalistic sphere to central planning. 'Where the state is going to have to intervene again on a major level is in terms of price subsidisation, taxation, marketing strategies...The parameters within which production takes place must be moderated by the state to redress the major intervention in that area by the present state which favours white farms'.

She points out that the myth of the highly-productive white farmer has long stood exposed. In its place is the reality of many a white farmer who survives by the grace of state subsidy alone. Almost 20 years ago the Marais-Du Plessis commission calculated that state subsidies accounted on average for some 20 percent of farming profits.

It is this history of administrative racism as well as the conquest and treachery of land dispossession, that demands active redress from a post-apartheid state, Claassens acknowledges.

She grants this in terms of equity, the very evident land hunger and political realism. 'Land will always remain a flashpoint while it is so unequally distributed. Control over the land is a measure of independence and sovereignty and, as so many black political organisations and

leaders, going back to Chief Albert Luthuli, have said: Unless you own your life and your history and your land, you can have no dignity in your society'.

*** Repeal of Land Act To Exacerbate Land Issue**

34000483B Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 2-8 Mar 90 p 13

[Cassandra Moodley article: "If the Pillars Are Cut Down, Will Apartheid Topple? Strangely, No;" first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The cabinet is considering scrapping two of apartheid's most contentious laws: the Land Acts, which forced African peasants off their own plots. But repealing the two acts now will not begin to redress the land problem, say academics and activists.

Two cornerstones of the apartheid structure—the Land Acts—look set to be repealed by State President FW de Klerk during this session of parliament.

The Minister of Planning and Provincial Development, Hernus Kriel, has confirmed that the cabinet is studying the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts and the possible implications of repealing them.

A representative of the minister's department said that no date had been set for a discussion in parliament on the Native Land Act of 1913 and the Development Trust and Land Act of 1936, but added that it would be "soon".

Over the last seven decades the majority of South Africans has been allowed to occupy only 13 percent of the land legally. Officially 74 percent of the population has access to little over 10 percent of the land—the homelands. Of the country's arable land only 16 percent lies within these homelands.

Landlessness among blacks is seen as a serious socio-political and economic problem and academics and resistance groups are sceptical as to whether merely scrapping these Acts will resolve the problem.

The introduction of the Land Act saw the demise of African peasant farming, territorial segregation, overcrowding in black areas and land and housing shortages. It also served to provide a cheap labour force for the mines.

"The mere repeal of the Native Land Act of 1913 and the Development Trust Act of 1936 can only be the first step toward solving the problem of land hunger among black people," says United Democratic Front publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota, while academic and author Colin Bundy points out that the initial step to addressing the problem would be the "repeal of not only the Land Act but all legislation which affects access to the land".

Bundy says that this will change things only marginally. "To repeal the Land Act in effect creates a free market in land but would certainly not result in a transfer of land to the majority.

"The land that will be available will be more marginal—not arable land. People are not going to sell their profitable farms.

"The Zimbabwean experience indicates how land prices rose by up to 55 percent after the removal of discriminatory legislation.

"Only a small proportion of black South Africans could then afford available land," he says.

The state of landlessness was formally implemented in 1913 by the Union government headed by Jan Smuts, with the tabling of the Native Land Act, which restricted African land ownership to the so-called scheduled areas—7.5 percent of the land—and forced African peasants to work for white farmers. In 1936 the Development Trust and Land Act was introduced, increasing land in African reserves to 13 percent.

Lawyer Nicholas Haysom explains: "A repeal of the Land Act would mean that blacks can buy land in white South Africa and whites can buy in non-independent homelands."

He adds: "This will not bring about an equitable redistribution of land. People have been disadvantaged for over 60 years and very few will be able to afford agricultural land." Lekota reiterates this: "The poverty in the black community means extremely few people will have the capital to work the farms."

Pan Africanist Movement general secretary Benny Alexander adds that Pam would not be impressed by a repeal of the Act because "as Africans lack resources, whites with financial power could actually buy them out of the 13 percent of the land allocated to them". Merely repealing the Acts could worsen the land problem, he says.

Alexander is sceptical of the government's motivation to possibly repeal the Act. "It is part of their deregulation and privatisation programme to divest themselves of all responsibility for the system of exploitation and dispossession."

The South African Agricultural Union [SAAU], which represents white farmers, declined to comment until there is an official announcement that the Act is going to be repealed. It is expected that the SAAU will not react favourably to any moves to change the legislation because such a move could threaten the white farming monopoly.

The land issue is inextricably linked to the present system of government, a fact clearly understood by parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups.

Although the ruling National Party [NP] only came to power in 1948—after the two laws were passed—it too introduced various measures to reinforce landlessness among blacks. These included the Group Areas Act, which promoted racial segregation and the 1959 Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act which allocated bantustans as the political homelands of African people.

The 1984 constitution also reinforced the NP attitude that "the land access and political aspirations of Africans are satisfied by separate homelands and expanded self-government".

A voice that may well be raised against the repealing of the Land Acts will come from the rightwing Conservative Party [CP]. In the CP manifesto the party says it will "repossess black property rights in urban areas". And a CP supporter sums up the rightwing attitude to land: "When partition takes place, whites will have to have most of the land, because blacks are not well suited to agriculture."

Bundy says that in searching for a solution to the land question "we must realise that while on the one hand we have to address the land hunger, dispossession and the very real demand for land we also have to ensure the protection of countryside production of food".

"We need to look at the nationalisation of land or the partial nationalisation of land..."

Lekota says that "in correcting the land problem certain sectors of the economy must be nationalised. The government should take control of land and avail it to communities who suffer land hunger, at rates they can afford.

"The government should also ensure that such communities be paid a living wage to maintain reasonable residences."

Alexander says a general restructuring of society through change in the economic infrastructure is needed. "You can't change land relations whilst the rest of the country's relations are based on an evil system."

Haysom adds that other measures to address the problem include the institution of co-operatives which would allow rural people to control the land and finances.

The re-implementation of African peasant farming is also suggested. Haysom says that the Zimbabwean lesson is that such farming could be very successful if supported by agricultural agencies.

Organisations and academics have also suggested that redistribution should be implemented by the government reclaiming land from absentee landlords and multinational companies and giving the land with security for tenure to rural people.

3 Apr Press Review on Current Problems, Issues
MB0304115790

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

No 'Overwhelming' Support for Mugabe—The "poor turnout" in the Zimbabwe general election "indicates that President Mugabe does not have the overwhelming support he claims," remarks a page 20 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 3 April. Although Mugabe "seems to have been at pains to stress that this election was not about creating a single party, there is no doubt the overwhelming majority for ZANU-PF [Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front] will be taken as at least an initial mandate for the plan."

BUSINESS DAY

Warning Against 'Exaggerated Optimism' on Talks—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 3 April in a page 14 editorial states: "The talks will go on, but the suspension of the April 11 meeting [between the African National Congress (ANC) and the government] has sounded a warning against exaggerated optimism or short time-scales." "There has scarcely been time since February 2 for black South Africa to discover or define any interest group at all, much less to organise itself coherently for negotiations. President de Klerk is wise, therefore, to avoid over-reaction and to persist in making it as easy as possible for the ANC to join the process of negotiation. Nelson Mandela is to be commended for agreeing to a meeting on Thursday [5 April] when he might have used the government's efforts to contain the township violence as another pretext for delay."

SOWETAN

Churches Mediators in Natal Violence—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 3 April in a page 6 editorial says the churches could play an "important role of mediators" in the Natal violence, but Chief Buthelezi's tirade against them "did not help much." As the churches "enter this role they should remember that in addition to the Buthelezi's and the Mandela's it is the grassroots leadership that the media have not even heard about that will finally decide on peace in Natal. This leadership has to be brought in early in the process if there is to be lasting peace."

BEELD

De Klerk's Successes Crucial for Negotiation—"It is not surprising the ANC is so frustrated that some of its leaders are clashing publicly with such prominent people as Mr. James Baker, the U.S. secretary of state," remarks a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 26 March. "The ANC is supposed to be so right, but now the African and Western leaders are queuing to meet President F.W. de Klerk and Mr. Pik Botha." "Whites and some colored people to the left of the

government understand what is happening and welcome it, but to the right and in certain interest groups the processes of the last couple of months are interpreted inaccurately." BEELD also points out President de Klerk's "moral successes make him internally appealing for alliances with moderates. Such support can be crucial at the negotiation table."

Government on 'Right' Education Path—"In the reform process South Africa is experiencing it is not a total surprise that drastic proposals are being put forward concerning the future of education," states Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 27 March in a page 14 editorial. "Even in this terrain the burden of apartheid is being abolished. While the opening of schools is such a sensitive matter, the government still deserves recognition for its willingness to tackle this contentious issue." The government is on "the right path, but just as the government was willing, the teachers should be willing to examine their own consciences."

Editorial on Constitutional Models—Models for a South African political dispensation "revolve around the debate "which most moderates of all colors are conducting, largely about the concept of one man, one vote, on a joint voter's roll, and the protection of group rights, however defined. Normally it is assumed the one is the antithesis of the other. What is interesting about the model Dr. Gerrit Viljoen discussed with a newspaper abroad, after it was also discussed in National Party circles, is that it attempts to reconcile these two elements. According to this model the lower chamber will be elected on the principle of one man, one vote, while the second chamber allows for representation of groups with veto rights." BEELD also points out "negotiation will mean that issues about which there are strong feelings now, will have to be sacrificed for the sake of consensus. That is why it is impossible to know what the final dispensation will look like. But the model discussed now has distinct possibilities."

DIE BURGER

Black Youth in Education 'Quagmire'—"The deeper black education in parts of the country gets bogged down in a quagmire through school boycotts and strikes by teachers, the more urgent it becomes that the concerned communities and black leaders will intervene to salvage the situation," observes a page 18 editorial in Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans on 29 March. It is "unrealistic" to expect the government to do everything on its own. DIE BURGER advises Mr. Mandela "not to wait for talks with the state president." He should "view it as a priority to end the violence and flagrant intimidation among black youths. It is in no one's interest that school children are used as cannon fodder, as appears to be the case now."

VRYE WEEKBLAD

ANC, Government Also Responsible for Violence—Johannesburg VRYE WEEKBLAD in Afrikaans on 30 March in its page 20 editorial says it is perhaps the "new

climate" in the country that is the "catalyst" for the violence sweeping the country. "People hear there has been a shift in the system's foundations, but have not themselves seen anything change. The government talks of freedom and a majority government, releases Nelson Mandela, and legalizes the ANC, but for the ordinary person there is nothing palpable." Therefore, "high expectations" are created. VRYE WEEKBLAD believes this is "partly unavoidable, but the government and the

ANC are also to blame. Feet are being dragged in the time since 2 February." The government has still not resolved the issue of "amnesty for the ANC leadership," but the ANC has not shown much "enthusiasm to return to the country." "Calls for peace are useless. Our national leaders from all communities must be physically present where the blood flows. Until recently our future lay shiny and promising before us. Suddenly one only sees dark clouds."

Angola

MPLA Air Raid Against Zambian Villages

MB0304193290 (Clandestine) KUP in English
to Southern and Central Africa 1900 GMT 3 Apr 90

[Text] [No dateline as received]—The growing Soviet military support to the puppet Luanda regime is causing deaths and misery among Angolans and destabilizing populations in neighbouring states.

Informed sources disclosed Tuesday [3 April] that a squadron of MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] jetfighters bombed three Zambian villages of Mboiwa, Sikolo and Simbuku - 15 km north-east of Shangombo post in the Western Province of Zambia.

The casualty figures were not immediately determined but reports add that the inhabitants of the three border villages abandoned their homes soon afterwards to seek refugee in some safer areas deep inside their own country Zambia.

The Zambian bomb experts managed to defuse three unexploded shells.

A few years ago, an MPLA plane transporting Cuban and MPLA troops was forced to land in Kinshasa after violating Zaire's air space. But before the Zairean authorities could search the plane, it was deliberately blown up by the Cuban and MPLA troops in an apparent move not to reveal undisclosed material on board the aircraft.

Twice in January and February respectively, MPLA fighter planes crossed into newly independent Namibia and bombed Oshakati and a village near a Catholic mission causing heavy loss of life and wounding many others besides destruction of property.

Death of Kidnapped French Citizen Reported

MB3003200890 Luanda Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] French citizen Jean-Francois Grossenbacher, a technician of the (Boique) Offshore Company, kidnapped by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] on 21 February, died in Southern Angola on 28 March.

A FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] General Staff source told the ANGOLAN NEWS AGENCY today that the French citizen died due to bad treatment at the hands of the puppet gang.

Jean-Francois Grossenbacher was captured by UNITA when travelling in a National Angolan Fuel Company convoy along the Caxito-Ambriz Road in Bengo Province.

Following this, yet another terrorist action, UNITA once again shows that it is not ready to lay down arms. It continues to massacre defenseless people, particularly foreign citizens, to discredit the Angolan Government.

Meanwhile, a French Foreign Ministry spokesman has condemned the kidnapping, criticizing the fact that all attempts to have the body returned have so far been fruitless.

It will be noted that on 22 February, UNITA announced that it would unconditionally free the 37-year-old French technician, as well as some Angolan soldiers captured during the occasion. However, as is always the case, the group did not fulfill its promise to free him unconditionally.

UNITA Communique on Death

MB3103063490 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance
of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Central and Southern Africa 0500 GMT 31 Mar 90

[Communique issued by the UNITA Political Bureau; place and date of issue not given—read by announcer]

[Text] 1. We have the painful duty of communicating the death of French expatriate Jean-Francois Grossenbacher in Angola. He was captured in February 1990 during an attack on an enemy convoy between Caxito and Ambriz in Angola.

2. UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] would like to convey its deepest condolences to the French Government and the bereaved family for this tragic occurrence. The international community should help the Angolan people find peace to allow smooth cooperation between peoples. UNITA tried everything to save the life of the deceased expatriate, but because of the gravity of his condition all was in vain.

[Signed] Dr Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, on behalf of the UNITA Political Bureau.

UNITA Announces Military Promotions

MB0304063890 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance
of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Central and Southern Africa 0520 GMT 3 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Through a communique signed by Comrade President Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] Central Committee Political Bureau announced the following promotions: Brigadiers Armindo Lucas Gato Lukanda, Adolosi Paulo Mango Alicerces, and Nogueira Canjundo have all been promoted to general.

General Gato Lukanda has also been appointed deputy minister of foreign affairs. Generals Alicerces and Canjundo are the chiefs in command of the antitank forces.

Colonel Abril has been promoted to brigadier.

The communique said, quote, UNITA believes the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] must either talk or face defeat throughout Angolan territory. There is every indication of that, unquote.

The communique stressed, quote, the Cubans must not scramble around for pretexts to not leave Angola. World history has changed. The longer they stay, the more losses they will suffer. If they want to fight, they will have a fight. The proud Angolan people no longer accept neocolonialism, unquote.

In that communique, UNITA expressed gratitude for the talks with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, adding that the proposals the South Africans received from the MPLA are being considered and that UNITA has already sent its own counterproposals.

The communique also said that only Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko could mediate in the Angolan conflict because of geographical and political reasons.

UNITA reiterated its regret that a French citizen died of gastritis on his trip to a country where he would have been saved. [passage omitted]

New Diplomatic Appointments

MB0104073090 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0600 GMT 1 Apr 90

[Communique issued by the UNITA Political Bureau in Jamba on 31 March—read by announcer]

[Text] In addition to the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] Political Bureau communique of 27 March 1990 on necessary changes in the diplomatic field, we announce the following:

General Tony da Costa Fernandes has been appointed secretary for foreign affairs;

Brigadier Adolosi Alicerces Mango, representative in Portugal and head of negotiating team;

Brigadier Ernesto Joaquim Mulato, representative in the FRG;

Colonel Alcides Sakala Simoes, representative in Belgium and the EEC.

[Issued] Jamba, bastion of Angolan resistance, 31 March 1990.

[Signed] President Dr Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, on behalf of the UNITA Political Bureau.

More on UNITA Denial of Plane Shootdown

MB0104064890 (Clandestine) KUP in English to Southern and Central Africa 0600 GMT 1 Apr 90

[Text] Jamba, Saturday, March 31—UNITA [National Union for the Independence of Angola] has challenged MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] to prove its claims that the aircraft that UNITA forces shot was a civilian and not a military one.

The challenge in a chief of staff communique released Friday, comes amid MPLA's false reports that it had lost a civilian plane on March 27 carrying expatriates and accessories flying between Bie and Huambo.

UNITA further challenges MPLA to clarify publicly if it lost two planes on March 27, that shot by UNITA—a military plane carrying soldiers and weapons and a civilian plane carrying expatriates and accessories.

According to the communique, UNITA anti-aircraft gunners downed an Avicar Caza-312 reg. no. T-410 transporting 46 troops and weapons destined to reinforce MPLA troops in Huambo Province.

Among the dead were Major Manuel Joao Ventura of Military regiment No. 095, born at Ganda in Benguela Province. His identity card No. is 004067. Capt. Paulino, an airforce officer (FAPA/DAA); Capt. Francisco Gabriel, a brigade commander; Capt. Rosa; and a 2nd Lieutenant, Nicolau Martins, chief of the 11th brigade.

Experts Say Angolan Government Using Poison Gas

LD2203213290 Lisbon Domestic Service in Portuguese 1900 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Excerpt] The Angolan Government is using toxic gases against troops of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. The accusation was made today by two international experts on chemical weapons at the Lisbon Medical Faculty. The experts made the accusation following the observation of UNITA soldiers during a recent visit to Jamba. The samples collected and later analyzed in the laboratories of the [words indistinct] universities show that the rebel soldiers were affected by neurotoxic substances. The experts, a Belgian professor and a Spanish professor are in Portugal at the invitation of the National Association of Young Doctors.

In a meeting today with Portuguese doctors the two experts added that some of Jonas Savimbi's soldiers are affected by total or partial limb paralysis, blindness, incontinence, and loss of other mental functions. Faced with these reports the Young Doctors Association will now take steps to publicize and campaign against the use of toxic gases in southern Angola. [passage omitted]

Mauritius

* Personnel Changes Within SMF Reported

90EF0315B Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 10 Feb 90 pp 1, 4

[Harish Chundunsing article: "Police and Paramilitary Force News"]

[Text] Important personnel changes were made this week in the police force and the Special Mobile Force (SMF).

The most important change was in the SMF, where Lieutenant Colonel Nicol Seeboruth, who was serving as Deputy Commanding Officer (DCO), was replaced by Major Dushyant Reesaul. Mr. Seeboruth was reassigned

to Port Louis (South) where he will replace Superintendent Ben Marie. Marie has been chosen to replace Superintendent Gawtan Choychoo at Flacq.

Choychoo will replace Superintendent Abdool Wahab Bhudye at Plaines Wilhems/Riviere-Noire.; Bhudye has been assigned to the staff of ACP [Assistant Police Commissioner] Harold Munso at the Special Supporting Unit [SSU].

Also, Superintendent Manicon Soopayah, currently posted to CID [Criminal Investigations Division] headquarters, will be making a "comeback" to Curepipe, the headquarters for upper Plaines Wilhems. Mr Soopayah replaces Superintendent Abdool Raouf Sookia, who is on sick leave.

Maj. Reesaul joined the police force as a "cadet inspector." After many years in the SMF, he was transferred last May to the Very Important Persons Security Unit (VIPSU) to help Jugdip Narain Taimini, the Indian security adviser, get the new unit organized.

Maj. Reesaul returned to his job at the SMF near the end of last year.

Namibia

Iranian Embassy Opens on 23 Mar

MB3003162090 Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN
in English 28 Mar 90 p 5

[Text] The Islamic Republic of Iran established formal diplomatic relations with the newly-founded independence state of Namibia on March 21 and opened its embassy on Friday [23 March].

In a statement signed by the foreign ministers of the two countries, Hoseyn Sheikhol Eslam and Theo Ben Gurirab, the republics said they had "decided to extend their relationships in all aspects in a way which will be to the benefit of the two nations of Iran and Namibia".

In terms of this decision, the SWAPO [South West Africa Peoples Organization] embassy in Iran which has been operative for four years will be transformed into the embassy of the Republic of Namibia.

The Islamic Republic of Iran, which was established in 1979 after the people overthrew the regime of the Shah, has since its inception been supportive of the struggle of oppressed people. Before the Islamic revolution in Iraq, the Shah regime was one of the major oil exporters to South Africa despite sanctions.

The foreign policy of Iran changed completely after the revolution and the new republic formed good relations with underdeveloped countries. Iran was the second country to accord SWAPO full diplomatic status four years ago.

The Islamic republic also gave aid to SWAPO in its struggle to eliminate apartheid and colonialism. Last

year SWAPO received US \$200,000 from Iran for the organisation's election campaign.

In a message to Namibian President Sam Nujoma, the President of Iran Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, conveyed his best wishes to the new republic. President Rafsanjani said Iran would always be available to offer assistance to the newly independence country.

In the near future, the foreign ministry of Iran will appoint its ambassador to Namibia. In the meantime the embassy is being run by Abbas Latifi.

India Establishes Ties, Lifts Sanctions

MB3003181890 Windhoek TIMES OF NAMIBIA
in English 26 Mar 90 p 3

[Excerpt] India has established full and formal diplomatic relations with Namibia from the moment of independence. Announcing this decision, the High Commission of India in Windhoek added the annulment of sanctions imposed on then South West Africa, now independent Namibia.

India was the first country to have accorded the South-West African People's Organization, SWAPO, full diplomatic status when it invited this organisation to open an embassy in New Delhi during the early 1980's.

Mr Shiv Shankar Mukherjee has been appointed the first High Commissioner to Namibia. [passage omitted]

Soviet Officials Meet Press on RSA Flights

MB0204185290 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1741 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Harare April 2 SAPA—Officials of the Soviet airline Aeroflot on Monday had difficulty denying that future possible flights by the airline to South Africa were being considered, although the director of the Soviet Cultural Centre later ruled out the possibility.

Zimbabwe's news agency ZIANA reports that at a press conference here to launch Aeroflot's flights to Harare, which began last Tuesday [27 March], replies from Soviet officials to the question of possible flights to South Africa included:

"An investigation is underway", "Such an investigation is informal and unofficial", "There is no official decision", "It is just talking", "It is not pure negotiation" and "It is not official in any case".

In reply to a question on whether, in view of talks on Namibia which had involved the Soviet Union and South Africa, there would be flight links between Moscow and Pretoria, chief navigator of the Soviet Civil Aviation Department, Vitaliy Kiselev, said it was not easy to give an answer.

"It is very difficult to speak for our government but such an investigation...is going on...there are no official discussions or negotiations," he said.

Aleksandr Kirpsha, director of the Soviet Cultural Centre here chipped in that "it is just talking. It is not pure negotiations." An interpreter for Mr Kiselev intervened to say: "It is not official in any case."

Later Mr Kirpsha emphasised it was the South Africans and their businessmen, who, through letters and telephone contacts, were probing the Soviets about flight links.

"Initiative is coming from the South Africans. This has been rejected. Aeroflot is a state company and it goes by state policy," he said.

He added only when Soviet friends in South Africa, the Organisation of African Unity and the Frontline States agreed that there should be contact, would they work on flight relations with South Africa.

Mr Kirpsha also said no South Africans were given visas to the Soviet Union. However, despite this assurance, it is known a group of white South African parliamentary opposition members and journalists have been to Moscow.

Mr Kiselev said Aeroflot flights would arrive in Harare every Tuesday. The first flight to Harare was last Tuesday.

He said an agreement existed for Air Zimbabwe to land in Moscow but it was up to Air Zimbabwe to decide whether to take up this option and, if it decided to do so, make arrangements for flights there.

Zimbabwe

Tekere Refuses To Comment on Elections

*MB0204131190 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1245 GMT 2 Apr 90*

[Text] Harare April 2 SAPA—Zimbabwe Unit Movement [ZUM] leader Edgar Tekere on Monday refused to comment on the presidential and parliamentary elections in which he and his party lost at the weekend, reports Zimbabwe's news agency, ZIANA. ZIANA telephoned Mr Tekere at his Mutare home to get his reaction

on the three-day elections, but the ZUM leader said he would not comment at this stage.

He said ZUM would call a press conference to give its view of the presidential elections, which Mr Tekere contested and lost to President Robert Mugabe, and the parliamentary elections in which his party won two seats.

Mr Tekere would, however, not say when and where that press conference would be.

State Withdraws Charges Against Student Leaders

*MB0204112290 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1101 GMT 2 Apr 90*

[Text] Harare April 2 SAPA—Zimbabwe's attorney general, Patrick Chinamasa, on Monday [2 April] announced he was withdrawing charges of subversion against student leader Arthur Mutambara and 12 other members of the student representative council at the University of Zimbabwe.

In a statement quoted by ZAINA news agency, Mr Chinamasa said he hoped the withdrawal of the charges for allegedly issuing, printing, distributing and circulating a subversive document or statement would "help contribute towards the creation of an environment in which the university can be re-opened in an atmosphere free from conflict, mistrust and tension, which were the hallmark of the events last year".

"I have decided not to pursue these charges against any of them. I have accordingly directed that the charges against them; be withdrawal before plea and this will be done when the accused next come to court," said Mr Chinamasa.

The students are due to appear in court again on May 17.

The arrest of Mr Mutambara last year led to violent clashes between students and police at the university, which led to the closure of the university.

The university is due to reopen on April 23.

Ivory Coast

'Acts of Vandalism' Reported Near Abidjan

*AB0304154190 Abidjan Domestic Service in French
1500 GMT 3 Apr 90*

[Text] The minister of national education, scientific research, and culture wishes to inform parents and the people at large that classes effectively resumed all over the national territory on Monday, 2 April 1990. He, therefore, explicitly urges parents whose children have not yet returned to school to send them back and to do everything possible to ensure that they do not stay away from school too long.

Meanwhile, parents should join efforts being made by our high school officials to maintain the calm and serenity needed for continued teaching activities. Since there is little time left before exams, our schools need the parents' assistance to restore normal activities in the interest of our children and our country, the communique [as heard] specified.

So, classes resumed yesterday in primary and secondary schools, as well as training colleges. The faculties of medicine and sciences reopened this morning.

While everything went smoothly elsewhere, there was an incident in Grand-Bassam this morning. A group of youths came in from Abidjan and perpetrated acts of vandalism in the town. Their main targets were the facilities of the junior and senior high schools, some primary schools, and the city hall.

President Mediates on French Technician's Behalf

*AB0304220590 Paris AFRICA INTERNATIONAL
in French No. 226, Apr 90 p 10*

[From the "AFI Confidential" column]

[Text] It was thanks to the good offices of President Houphouet-Boigny that the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] released the French technician whom it had captured in Angola. The first operation of this kind by UNITA is causing concern among specialists.

Liberia

Armed Forces Chief: Nimba Rebels Surrounded

*AB0304223990 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
2210 GMT 3 Apr 90*

[Text] The chief of staff of the Armed Forces of Liberia, Lieutenant General Henry S. Dubar, has revealed that government troops have successfully surrounded the rebels in Nimba County. He said this move is an attempt to prevent the rebels from extending their activities to the rest of Nimba and beyond. An Information Ministry release issued here today said the chief of staff further said that as a result of this operation, citizens may now

safely travel to Ganta, Sanniquellie, and Yekepa. He has, however, warned people against going beyond (Cocopalm) where government troops are presently continuing their mopping-up operations. It said that Lt. Gen. Dubar gave the assurance that the situation is being contained, adding that it has been too long because government troops had been exercising every degree of care and professionalism. We are doing this because we do not want to be accused of human rights violations nor genocide, the chief of staff added.

Meanwhile, the Ministry of National Defense has announced that in the wake of the rebel activities in Nimba County, government troops have intensified their mopping-up operation in the county. The Defense Ministry also confirmed that over the weekend, rebels entered the (Cocopalm) Plantation near Ganta, killing five civilians and looting the offices and warehouses of the company. According to an Information Ministry release issued here today, the the Defense Ministry said government troops immediately moved in and brought the situation under control. The release said earlier, when the rebels entered the plantation, they lined up employees, singled out and killed Khrans and Mandingoes in the presence in of the British manager of (Cocopalm).

Red Cross Head Calls For Talks With Rebels

*AB0304225990 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
2200 GMT 3 Apr 90*

[Text] The president of the Liberian National Red Cross Society, Reverend Edwin Lloyd, has appealed to the government to go to the negotiating table with the rebels to resolve the Nimba crisis. Rev. Lloyd made the appeal today during a news conference at the headquarters of the Liberian National Red Cross Society in Monrovia.

The Red Cross boss called on governments of United States, Britain, Cote d'Ivoire [Ivory Coast], Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Ghana to help in bringing the two factions in the conflict to the negotiating table:

[Begin Lloyd recording] Britain was the first to recognize our independence and sovereign state we derived under the United States, and it has been our traditional friend all the time. I want to ask them to make an effort to see whether Mr. Charles Taylor, wherever he is, can be talked to. I say Guinea, Ghana, and Ivory Coast, and Sierra Leone because they are the foundation members of the OAU. I am sure if these leaders meet with Dr. Doe and Charles Taylor, I think some fruitful talk will take place in a forum of this nature. I have some degree of confidence within me—with no facts backing them—both Dr. Doe and Mr. Taylor will listen to these people. So, (?at least) we can ask both parties should cease fire in these areas, temporary ceasefire, so that we can get to the area. We are waiting day and night at this moment of all. [end recording]

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5 April 1990

